

## Lord Kelvin and the Existence of God

"If you think strongly enough you will be forced by science to believe in God, which is the foundation of all religion."—Lord Kelvin. (1)

Some few years ago, it will be remembered, Lord Kelvin expressed in no hesitating terms his conviction that physical science was of itself incapable of giving a complete answer to the riddle of life. The correspondence in the newspapers which followed this pronouncement must have come as a surprise to those who were acquainted with Lord Kelvin's writings. Both in his popular lectures and in his more technical contributions to science he clearly taught the same truth for almost sixty years. The criticisms on this reiteration of a statement made on many previous occasions are therefore difficult to explain. If science had in recent years brought to light any new fact that could reasonably afford an explanation of the beginnings of life, the attention attracted by Lord Kelvin's remark would have been easier to understand. But no such event has taken place. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the views generally held by scientists concerning this point is the reception given to a book which recently appeared in which it seemed to be suggested that at last the origin of life was discovered in the recesses of a physical laboratory. The judgments passed on that book, both by the writer's own fellow workers, and by reviewers generally, clearly demonstrated that scientists make no claim whatever to having solved this mystery. As the question is one of great interest at the present time it may be found useful to consider in some detail the argument on which Lord

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(1) cf. "The Nineteenth Century," June, 1903, p. 1068.

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Kelvin based his assertion, and to show that the conclusions arrived at by him were no mere sentiments or opinions, but the logical and necessary consequence of well established physical theories.

Among the noteworthy scientific achievements of the last century was the formulation, and, as far as was possible, experimental verification of the law of the *Conservation of Energy*. According to that law the total amount of energy in the physical universe is declared to be a constant. This energy may appear now under one form, now under another, sometimes as light, sometimes as electricity, and often as heat. But, whatever be its mode of showing itself, the total amount is the same. By employing suitable means it may be made to assume different forms, always, however, in such a way that whatever is gained in one department is lost by another. Thus the energy of motion is transformed into the heat of friction; the heat obtained from the chemical decomposition of coal is changed into the motion of the steam engine. So well known is this law that the precise amount of heat required to perform a given quantity of mechanical work, and the amount of work necessary to produce a definite supply of heat have been determined with great exactness. It is not necessary here to examine in any detail the intrinsic nature of energy; it is sufficient to recall here the general law just explained. The present tendency of science points clearly to the conclusion that all energy is, like heat, "a mode of motion."

We must distinguish clearly between the energy due to chemical decomposition and that arising from merely physical modifications. Steam, for example, possesses energy due to its physical condition, which we treat as



being different from the energy of the Oxygen and Hydrogen of which it is composed. For the moment we deal only with the energy due to physical states. If a hot body is losing heat it is parting with its energy, and unless it obtains a fresh supply from elsewhere it must, after a calculable period, cease to emit heat. It is a commonplace that a hot body will become cooler while it is nearer a body colder than itself to which it can give any of its heat, and it follows that a cold body will never become warm of itself, that is, unless energy is supplied to it from some source outside itself. The precise instant at which a body ceases to become any colder or any warmer is when it is at the same temperature as all the other bodies near it. At this stage it is true that all the bodies are radiating heat, but they are each receiving as much as they give, with the result that the temperature of all remains the same. As long, therefore, as a hot body is surrounded by bodies which supply less heat to it than it radiates, we know with absolute certainty that it is getting cooler, and by knowing the state of things around it we can tell what will be its ultimate temperature.

Lord Kelvin wrote many papers in which these general principles were applied to the case of the sun and earth. According to these principles it is clear that the sun must once have been hotter than it is at present, and that at some future date it will, unless some new source of heat be discovered, be very much colder than it is now.(1)

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(1) It has been suggested that the presence of even less Radium in the material of the earth than has been actually determined would be sufficient to keep up the temperature of the earth, and that if there were a comparatively small amount of Radium

Again we know from experience that this earth of ours is not becoming either hotter or cooler :

On the average of night and day, as the air does not become warmer on the whole, it must radiate out into space as much heat as all that it gets, both from the solid earth by contact, and by radiation of heat from the earth, and by intercepted radiation from the sun on its way to the earth.—(Pop. Lect., vol. I., p. 396).

If then the earth is just receiving as much heat from the sun as it is radiating into space it is evident that the earth will become cooler in proportion as the temperature of the sun diminishes. Thus as surely as the sun is shining now, so surely, unless the laws of nature undergo a change, will it be one day as cold and as dead as the moon is at present. At that stage in nature's evolution

present in the sun it would be sufficient to account for its great temperature. Up to this there is absolutely no direct evidence that there is Radium in the sun, and even if there were, the only change it could make in our present views would be to lengthen the life of the sun. Even Radium loses its energy, and after a long period produces no more heat. In comparison with an eternal duration millions and billions and millions of billions differ but little. That the presence of Radium in the earth has modified our views concerning the age of the earth is true, and need not present the slightest difficulty. In his address as President of the Geological Section of the recent British Association meeting Professor Joly said:—"Radium has occasioned no questioning of the older view that the cooling of the earth from a *consistentior status* has been mainly controlled by radiation. But on the contrary, this new revelation of science has come to smooth over what difficulties attended the reconciliation of physical and geological evidence on the Kelvin hypothesis. It shows us how the advent of the present thermal state might be delayed and geological time lengthened, so that Kelvin's forty or fifty million years might be reconciled with the hundred million years which some of us hold to be the reading of the records of denudation."

life will be impossible on the face of the earth. In an exactly similar manner can we prove that at a remote period in the life-story of the earth its temperature was so great that life on its surface was as impossible as it is to-day on the surface of the sun. These are accepted facts of theoretical science. They are the necessary and logical conclusions deducted from Laplace's theory of the universe. Lord Kelvin, in several of his lectures, "On the Sun's heat," "The age of the Sun's heat," and others, has dealt with these subjects in his usual lucid manner. Sir Robert Ball in his book on "The Earth's Beginning" also develops the same theory. Lord Kelvin thus refers to Laplace's theory:

Thus there may in reality be nothing more of mystery or of difficulty in the automatic progress of the solar system from cold matter diffused through space, to its present manifest order and beauty, lighted and warmed by its brilliant sun, than there is in the winding-up of a clock and letting it go till it stops. I need hardly say that the beginning and maintenance of life on the earth is absolutely and infinitely beyond the range of all sound speculation in dynamical science. The only contribution of dynamics to theoretical biology is absolute negation of automatic maintenance of life.—(Pop. Lect. I. p. 415).

In his Presidential Address to the British Association in 1871, the following passage occurs:

Dead matter cannot become living without coming under the influence of matter previously alive. This seems to me as sure a teaching of science as the law of gravitation. I utterly repudiate, as opposed to all philosophical uniformitarianism, the assumption of "different meteorological conditions"—that is to say, somewhat different vicissitudes of temperature, pressure, moisture, gaseous atmosphere—to produce or to permit that to take place by force of dead matter alone, which is in direct contravention of what seems to us biological law. I am prepared for the answer. Our code of biological law is an expression of our ignorance as well as of our knowledge. And I say yes;

search for spontaneous generation out of inorganic materials; let anyone not satisfied with the purely negative testimony of which we have now so much against it, throw himself into the inquiry. Such investigations as those of Pasteur, Pouchet, and Bastian are amongst the most interesting and momentous in the whole range of Natural History, and their results, whether positive or negative, most richly reward the most careful and laborious experimenting. I confess to being impressed by the evidence put before me by Professor Huxley, and I am ready to adopt, as an article of scientific faith, true through all space and through all time, that life proceeds from life, and from nothing but life.

How, then, did life originate on the Earth? Tracing the physical history of the Earth backwards, on strict dynamical principles, we are brought to a red-hot melted globe on which no life could exist. Hence, when the Earth was first fit for life, there was no living thing on it.

Having then discussed the possibility of the first germ of life coming to us from "moss-grown fragments from the ruins of another world," Lord Kelvin cites a passage from Darwin's great work with which he is in sympathy, though not accepting all Darwin's hypotheses:

There is grandeur in this new life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been and are being evolved.

The concluding words of this address were:

I feel profoundly convinced that the argument from design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations. . . . But overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie all round us, and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time, they come back to us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living beings depend on an everacting Creator and Ruler.

The argument may be thus stated. Physical science

clearly proves that, according to the recognized laws of nature this earth was once unfit to support any form of human life. Biological science has failed to point out a single instance of the beginnings of life without antecedent life. Spontaneous generation has been shown to be unknown in nature. Hence the beginning of life on this planet must have come either by creation or by means of living beings from outside the earth. According to Laplace's theory, so generally accepted, all heavenly bodies were at one time just as incapable of supporting life in any form as the sun is now. Hence the hypothesis that life came to us from another world only puts back the problem to a more remote period, it does not solve it. Therefore the rational conclusion is that life began by the intervention of a cause which is capable of giving life, and which is without any dependence on previous living things. Further, the co-ordination of the different forces of nature and the harmony existing between them, and especially their suitability to the nature and needs of man prove that the whole has been made and kept in being by a wise and intelligent Creator and Ruler.

Although in the statement of Lord Kelvin's opinion which attracted so much attention he seemed to dwell chiefly on the argument from design, it is clear that he had in mind other arguments which he had before made use of. We have already called attention to the Law of the Conservation of Energy. There is, however, another law which Lord Kelvin frequently makes mention of in his writings. This is the law of the "Dissipation of Energy." At first sight it might perhaps seem that this law is in direct opposition to the law of conservation of energy. Such is not the case. The latter deals only

with the total quantity of energy, irrespective of its distribution. In the law now to be discussed we have to consider the nature and distribution of the energy. All sources of heat and energy may be compared to a steam-engine. In such a machine there is always a boiler and a condenser. The condition necessary in order to obtain a supply of energy, or mechanical work from a machine, is that certain materials in passing from a higher to a lower temperature enable us to obtain some of the energy of heat under other forms. Now it is absolutely essential that there be two regions at different temperatures if we are to be able to avail ourselves of any of the energy. A kettle full of boiling water possesses a great quantity of energy, but it is useless while we are unable to place it in suitable surroundings. At present it radiates heat, but if the surrounding objects were at the same temperature this radiation of heat would be perfectly useless. It is enough for our purpose to bear this fact in mind, that in any kind of engine there must be two places of different temperature or potential. We have already seen that the tendency of hot bodies is to become cooler, and of cold bodies, if they are near hot ones, to become hotter. If we mix a can of cold water with one of hot we obtain a mixture of uniform temperature, which is hotter than the cold water, but colder than the hot water was originally. In a word, the tendency of any mixture of hot and cold bodies is to settle down finally into a collection of bodies all at the same temperature. We know from experience that it is quite impossible to change the temperature of any quantity of water or other substance, however small, without the expenditure of energy. Thus once hot and cold water have mixed into a tepid mass no physical power can bring the

original portions back to their first condition without expending a definite amount of work.

What is true of small quantities of hot and cold water is true of the universe as a whole, not only with regard to heat but to all kinds of material energy. A good illustration of the principles here involved is the case of power derived from water wheels. A water wheel is turned by the momentum of water as it passes from a higher to a lower level. The only condition required in order to obtain power from this source is that the water in one region be at a higher level than in another. The absolute amount of water present, though a necessary condition, is not what determines the useful energy possessed by the water. Its utility depends on the distance through which a given quantity can fall. This is, of course, a matter of common experience, but it illustrates fully the dissipation of energy theory. If the whole earth were covered with water reaching to the top of the highest mountain, so long as there was no difference of level, this mass of water would possess no energy which could be used to turn a wheel. If all the waterfalls which at present are made use of to work our mills were not supplied with fresh quantities of water through evaporation there would long since have been an end to water-mills. All the water at high levels would have flowed down to the lowest level it could find, all the water would be at the same distance from the centre of the earth and there would be no available energy. So, too, with a lake on top of a mountain. So long as there is no means of making this water flow down to a lower region the energy is of no use to us. No doubt the water possesses a great deal of "potential energy," but it is locked up from us. Just as all masses of liquid tend to the lowest region they

can find, so all bodies tend towards a uniform temperature—the lowest to which they can attain.

This is the law of the “Dissipation of Energy.” There may be a great deal of energy present, but, on account of its uniformity it is not available. Lord Kelvin insisted on these principles as far back as 1851 (*Proc., R.S.E.*, March). It is not necessary to follow all the details of that discussion, but the following passage is of interest as bearing on the matter we are concerned with.<sup>(1)</sup> In the article the following quotation from papers written in 1851 and 1852 occurs:

It is impossible, by means of inanimate material agency, to derive mechanical effect from any portion of matter by cooling it below the temperature of the coldest of the surrounding objects. If this axiom be denied for all temperatures it would have to be admitted that a self-acting machine might be set to work and produce mechanical effect by cooling the sea or earth, with no limit but the total loss of heat from the earth and sea, or, in reality, from the whole material world. (He continues): My statement of this axiom was limited to inanimate matter, because not enough is known either from the natural history of plants and animals or from experimental investigations in physiology to assert with confidence that in animal or vegetable life there may not be a conversion of heat into mechanical effect not subject to the conditions of Carnot's theory. . . .

The influence of animal or vegetable life on matter is infinitely beyond the range of any scientific inquiry hitherto entered on. Its power of directing the motions of moving particles, in the demonstrated daily miracle of our free-will, and in the growth of generation after generation of plants from a single seed, are infinitely different from any possible result of the fortuitous concurrence (2) of atoms; *and* (the italics are Lord Kelvin's) *the*

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(1) From a paper “On the Dissipation of Energy.”—*The Fortnightly Review*, March 1892.

(2) A somewhat subtle difficulty has been founded on the theory of probabilities in connection with the kinetic theory of gases. In that theory it is supposed that temperature is due to



*fortuitous concurrence of atoms is the sole foundation in Philosophy on which can be founded the doctrine that it is impossible to derive mechanical effect from heat otherwise than by taking heat from a hot body at a higher temperature, converting at most a definite proportion of it into mechanical effect, and giving out the whole residue to matter at a lower temperature. . . .*

In the concluding paragraph of this article Lord Kelvin applies the principles of the Dissipation of Energy to the case of the sun and earth:

The whole store of energy now in the sun, either of actual heat, corresponding to the sun's high temperature, or of potential energy (as of the not run-down weight of the clockwork), potential energy of gravitation depending on the extent of future shrinkage which the sun is destined to experience, is essentially finite; and there is much less of it now than there was three thousand years ago. . . . The doctrine of the "Dissipation of Energy" forces upon us the conclusion that within a finite period of time past the earth must have been, and within a finite period of time to come must again be, unfit for the habitation of man as at present constituted, unless operations have been and are to be performed which are impossible under the laws governing the known operations going on at present in the material world.

the velocity of gas atoms as they move about among each other. Thus hot gas would be made up of atoms moving about with great velocity, and cold gas of atoms moving with less velocity. A mixture of these would be a gas of a temperature between the two. The final condition of all the gases now in the universe would be that corresponding to a collection of atoms moving with all sorts of velocities—a fortuitous concursus of atoms. A calculation has shown that it is possible that at some period a great number of atoms of the same velocity might collect together by chance, thus giving rise to a place of higher or lower temperature. This chance becomes less and less as the number of atoms increases, so that for all practical purposes it may be left out of count. It is the one possibility, according to the known laws of science, of a mixture dividing itself into portions of different temperatures without outside assistance.

It is evident that, in the address which recently attracted attention, Lord Kelvin had in mind the views illustrated by the quotations we have been considering. The remark of Liebig that he would as soon believe that a book on chemistry could grow from dead matter as that a leaf of a flower could be formed, or could grow, by chemical forces, was also cited in the article referred to, and there, too, we have more fully explained for us the bearing of the "fortuitous concursus of atoms" on the question. Enough has, perhaps, been said to show the line of thought followed by Lord Kelvin in these discussions. In the three volumes of his "Popular Lectures and Addresses" his views will be found more clearly and more fully set forth than we have been able to do in this sketch.

There is a further deduction that we may legitimately make from the doctrine of "Dissipation of Energy." We have seen that the tendency of all distributions of energy is towards a uniform distribution, so that finally no portion of the system is at a different potential from other portions. All things tend to an equilibrium. From the admitted laws of physics it is perfectly certain that every limited system will sooner or later reach a state when no manifestation of energy will be possible. Thus, in our universe all the bodies taking part in its operations will at some future period be at the same temperature. The forces of attraction will so completely balance each other that every portion of matter will be in fixed and immovable equilibrium with every other portion. This on the supposition that the universe is limited in extent. From this premise we can establish a solid and convincing proof of the existence of a Creator, who is without dependence on any other cause.

Science proves that all bodies in a limited system must eventually be at a uniform temperature. It also shows that when this state is reached there can be no change of temperature produced without the intervention of some outside influence.

At the present time there are differences of temperature in our universe. This difference of temperature is less than it was, and in a definite period, calculable for one who knows the dimensions of the universe, this world, and all things in and around it, will have come to such a state that life will be impossible. Now if the maximum difference of temperature which we are leaving behind us had begun earlier than it did, by a period equal to that which still remains to our universe, it is clear that the final stage would already have been reached. Therefore the universe cannot have been in existence for ever, for then *a fortiori* there would be no world now. Therefore, there was a beginning to the state of difference of temperature in which we find ourselves now. This state of different temperatures is a physical impossibility without a previous cause. That previous cause was either a portion of this universe, and if so its energy must have been derived from a more remote cause. All such causes simply put back the difficulty one step, but do not solve it. By hypothesis this world of ours is limited, therefore the last of these sources of energy must be accounted for. This can only be done by postulating a First Cause, which is outside the universe, which derives energy from none. Who, therefore, is very Being and energy Himself? GOD.

In this argument there is only one point which leaves a loop-hole to escape by. What, it may be asked, is the value of this argument if we admit that the *universe* is

*infinite in extent*, bounded by no limit, extending from infinity to infinity, in the strict sense of the word? For such as hold this opinion it must be admitted that this argument does not prove with absolute certainty the existence of a Creator. Lord Kelvin was conscious of this objection, and hence preferred to argue from other bases. It is, however, generally admitted by scientists that this universe of ours is limited in extent. It is only on the hypothesis of a limited universe that it is possible for the mathematician to apply his theories, or for the astronomer to calculate the constants of the ether in which we move. There are, of course, for the philosopher metaphysical and philosophical reasons which prove that the universe is limited in extent. For the physicist who accepts the laws of energy, we have dwelt on, there remains the option of holding (as far as this argument goes) either that a Creator put the universe in motion, or that the universe is absolutely without limit. To admit the latter as a working hypothesis is at least as great an act of scientific faith as is the belief in a Creator. When we view the matter along with the evidence of design underlying nature, mere natural reason points clearly and eloquently to the existence and continual operation of an all-wise and all-powerful Creator.

From the time when in the Book were written the words, "the fool hath said there is no God," to the present day there have been those who keep their ears shut to the voice of God telling them of Himself. There have been others, and among them the greatest of scientists, who were clearly convinced of the necessity of invoking the action of the Creator. This is not the place to quote at length from the writings of those who proclaimed their conviction of the existence of God. We may, however,

with propriety cite the words of two of the greatest men who adorned the University of Cambridge, which claims Lord Kelvin as one of her most illustrious sons. Newton wrote in his *Principia*:

This most beautiful system of sun, stars and comets could nowise come into existence without the design and ownership of a Being at once intelligent and powerful. . . . This Being governs all things, not as if He were the soul of the world, but as the Lord of everything, and, on account of His dominion, He is styled "the Lord God, *Παντοκράτης* (universal ruler)." . . . Him we know only by His attributes and His properties, and by the most excellent and wise structure of things, and their final causes, and we admire Him for His perfections; we venerate Him and we worship Him for His Lordship.

The late Professor Stokes, Newton's successor as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, often expressed the like views. Some passages from his correspondence, as edited by Professor Larmor, will not be out of place, both on account of the light they throw on Stokes' own views, and on account of the information they give us about other distinguished scientists.

January 16, 1895:

You say, "as far as my reading goes, I am of opinion that true religion and true science harmonize." I am of the same opinion. You ask if it has been my experience to find "the greatest scientists irreligious"? That has not been my experience, but the reverse. To confine myself to my own line of mathematical and physical science, and to those who are no longer on earth, though not very many years dead, I could not well select more eminent scientists of world-wide reputation than Faraday, Clerk-Maxwell, and Adams, the discoverer of Neptune. I knew all three very well, specially Maxwell and Adams, with whom I was very intimate. I knew that they were all deeply religious Christian men.

25th July, 1900:

Next as to the origin of life. The doctrine of abiogenesis (that life can originate from non-life), is pretty well knocked on the head. My late friends, Huxley and Tyndall, whom even the sceptics would hardly suspect of being led away from the truth by theological prejudice, are about as strongly against it as any.

3d August, 1900:

I quite think that the existence of life is one of the strongest arguments for the existence of a living Being who is the Author of life.

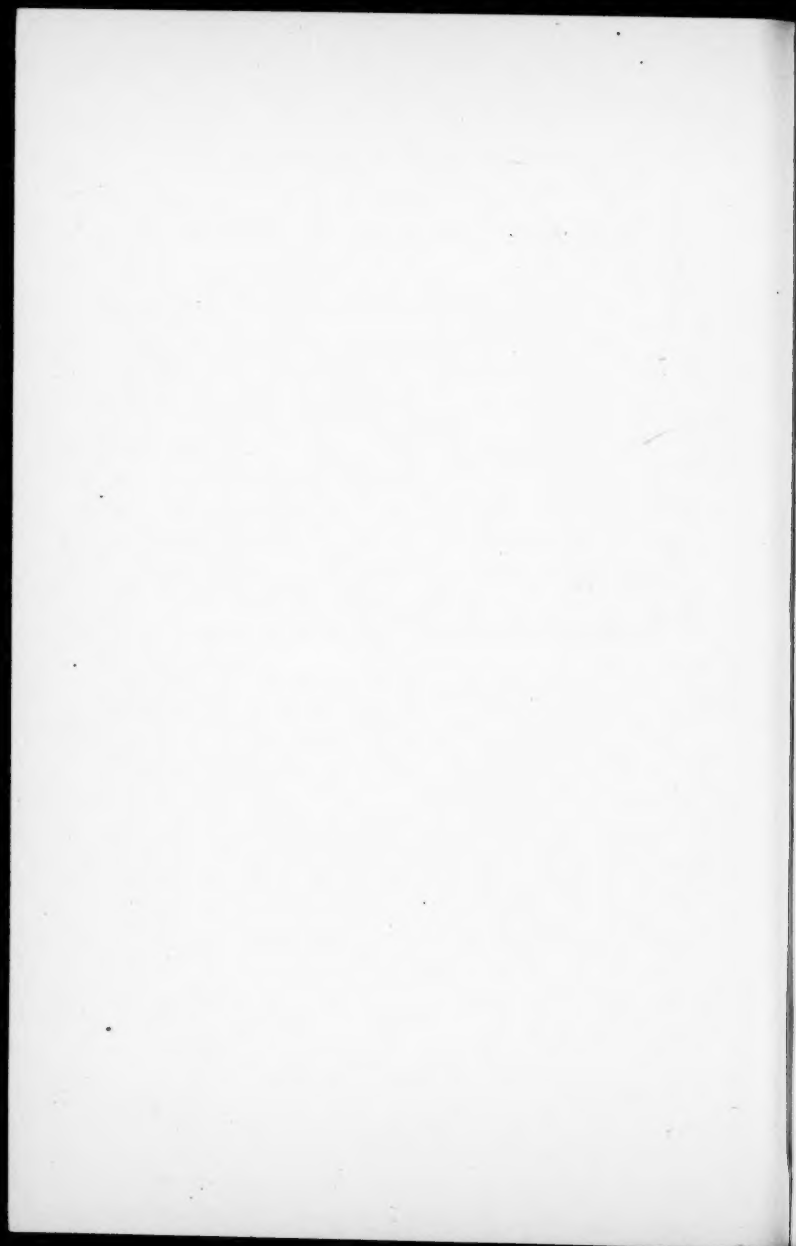
We have dwelt sufficiently on this point. No mention has been made of Catholic writers whose names are amongst the greatest in the history of science. From them we might, did space allow, cite the testimony of such men as Galileo, Boscovich, Mendel, Secchi, Ampère, Röntgen, Pasteur, Branly, and others whose names will live forever in the annals of science. They declared in word and in work their belief in and love for, the Creator and Lord of all things.

In future ages, when the name of Kelvin is ranked with that of Newton, at whose feet he sleeps in Westminster Abbey, while the scientist will speak with admiration of the great intellect which shed such light on the obscure ways of science, the Christian will thank him for having, in no feeble tones, declared his conviction of the absolute necessity of the Creator in the midst of the wonders of that nature which spoke to him so eloquently and so clearly of their common Maker.

*The New Ireland Review.*

H. V. GILL, S.J.

## **Primary Education in France**





## Primary Education in France

THE year 1879, which witnessed the restriction of the rights of Catholic universities in France, may be said to have also marked the inauguration of a period of acute hostility to Catholic education on the part of the French Government. The war on religious education still continues; and separation between Church and State, which in France has proved to be as great a misnomer as the word "liberty," has but accentuated the animosity of the enemies of Christianity. Hence, it is no matter for surprise to find the Bishops of France continuing their protests against the wanton interference of the Government with the religious education of French children. On August 20, 1908, in all the churches of France was read a pastoral letter from the Hierarchy of France calling on parents and guardians of children to take action against the latest proposals of the Government in reference to the school question; reminding parents of their inalienable right to watch over and safeguard the religion of their children, which an infidel and irresponsible Government wishes to root out of the hearts of the rising generation; declaring that the rights of parents in regard to the education of their children are from God, and that interference therewith is an outrage on the child and the parent, and a disgrace to a State that boasts of its liberty.

A very brief review of recent French history will make the attitude assumed by the Bishops in their latest pastoral abundantly clear, and will show that their note of alarm about the future of religion and even the temporal welfare of France is well founded.

The legislation which in recent times most directly affected the primary schools of France, that is, schools which would bear general comparison with the National schools of Ireland, dates from 1882. By the law of March 28, 1882, compulsory education of children was insisted on; moreover, by the terms of the law, the school of the Commune lost its denominational character, and was to be strictly non-religious in its teaching. By this latter enactment it was not meant that the school teachers were to be militantly anti-religious; they were simply to avoid the subject of religion as one outside their special sphere. The father of the family might elect one of the three ways of having his child educated: he might have him taught at home, or in a private school, or in the school of the Commune to which he belonged. Only in the event of his not adopting either of the former methods, was he obliged to send his child to the Government school.

The Government intended by this law to introduce compulsory education. Their scheme, however, proved an utter failure. Despite the law, the will of the people prevailed, and in those places where at certain times labor is in great demand, even such labor as children may be engaged in, the people simply brought away their children to the fields and vineyards, and apparently cared very little whether they grew up illiterate or equipped with such education as the State afforded. People nowadays speak much of the blind obedience of French people to the law, and it is often said that this characteristic of the French accounts for the progress of anti-clericalism and infidelity. Yet here is a scheme that the will of the people rendered in many places absolutely nugatory. On January 24, 1907, M. Briand, Minister of Education, informed the Chamber of Deputies that the law of 1882

had been, on the whole, a failure; that the School Commissions appointed to inquire into school attendance and punish neglect thereof, either did not really come into existence—14,000 were actually appointed, whereas 36,000 were required—or did not properly discharge their duties. And school banks, which were to assist parents and children of the poor, were found to have been unworkable from want of State-aid. Hence, badly as the *Congréganistes* were supposed to have managed their schools, it had to be admitted, even by M. Briand, that the State schools left much to be desired in regard to their general working and efficiency. In 1904, Inspector-General Cazes could assert from carefully gathered statistics that of all the children subject to compulsory school attendance, from five to ten per cent. never entered any kind of school; five per cent. were regular scholars, and the remainder could at best be classed as intermittent scholars. Two revisions made in 1902 showed that in some departments the children not receiving any education amounted to forty-five per cent.; this was made in the summer season; during the winter, which is the time school is most frequented in France, the same departments showed a failure in school attendance amounting to sixteen per cent. As school attendance ceases to be compulsory at ten and a-half or eleven years of age, it can easily be imagined what result was to be expected from such a short and interrupted period of education. M. Briand candidly admitted that from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of French people must be relegated to the class of the illiterate. Apparently things have not been improving in recent years, for the absence of elementary education in candidates for the army and minor Governmental posts has been found so great that the present

Minister of Education, M. Doumergue, has ordered a special inquiry into the extent and causes of the illiteracy in France.

The law of 1882 had allowed the erection of "free schools"; that is schools such as those conducted by many religious communities, which were absolutely without any State-aid and were supported by the funds of the community, and often maintained by the munificence of some wealthy person in the neighborhood who was a benefactor to the community. Large numbers of these schools existed through France; in the year 1887, five years from the passing of the law, 1,123,613 children were attending such "free schools" as these, taught by the Christian Brothers, and various religious sisterhoods; in 1905 the number of children in such schools reached 1,600,000, or about fifty-four per cent. of the school children of France. There is question here only of the children of the poorer classes, for whom any form of education besides that given in a free school, or a Government school, would be impossible. The education given in such free schools included a solid religious training, and such schools were well known to have influenced elections, as those educated in them had religion and common sense enough to make a stand against the violent measures of the Socialists. Alongside the free school, however, was the Government school, the godless character of which sent forth a generation far more extensive in numbers and absolutely without conscientious scruple, the very material which an extreme Socialist might expect to work upon, for the development of his plans. The avowedly neutral school of 1882 gradually ceased to be neutral, and became every year more and more hostile to religion, and so more under the sway of advancing

Socialism. A generation of teachers, both male and female, arose, who were openly recognized as inimical to Christianity, and indeed to any definite form of religious belief. The increased anti-clerical tendency of the Government gave courage to this generation of trainers of youth; and moreover these latter were quick to perceive that their hopes of preferment were proportioned to the virulence of their anti-clerical bias.

Soon the school teachers' journals began to manifest sentiments that left no doubt as to their determined effort to eradicate from the minds of the children submitted to their care all belief in God. The days of neutrality are past, and now, and for some years past, the actual attitude of the school is one of open hostility to all forms of belief, and implies the absolute rejection of any reference to the supernatural. The campaign against religion is more active in the country parts than in large towns or cities. For in the cities the teachers are generally *hommes arrivés*, that is, men who have got to the top rung of the ladder of promotion, and who in consequence have no longer anything to gain by attacking religion. In the village, where the school teacher is in league with that little village tyrant, the French mayor, or some paid agent where a mayor does not exist, the school is a nursery of anti-clericalism. It is the teacher's interest to think with the mayor, and that of the mayor to obey blindly the prefect, and that of all of them to be virulent anti-clericals if they wish to get on. Hence the State has a very active and willing agent in the teacher for its irreligious propaganda. "There is not a village, not even a hamlet, in which the school teacher does not teach the child at least by his silence, that religion is an idle thing, when he does not go further and

insinuate in presence of his pupils that religion is an unreasonable thing and positively hurtful, and that therefore its representatives merit neither respect nor confidence." (1) The results of this teaching are evident in the enormous increase of criminals, amongst the youth especially. The statistics of youthful criminals in 1882 reached a maximum of 16,000 per year; in the year 1892 the maximum was 41,000; since that time things have not improved. In fact it may be said that the amazing figures given year by year of youthful criminality in France has become almost a tiresome jeremiad of the papers, which everyone passes by as not worth reading. Nor is it the conservative journals such as the *Temps*, the *Gaulois*, and the *Figaro* that exclaim against the growing decadence of all law and order amongst the youth of the country; even the anti-clerical papers such as the *Radical* are emphatic on the point. If the *Temps* speaks of "criminality increasing in terrifying proportions," the *Radical* points to the insubordination of children in the family of the poor as well as the rich; of the family being absolutely at the command of the child; of the child's will becoming atrophied because it is so little opposed, and of all these symptoms as most ominous and dangerous to the very existence of a well-ordered society. But where are we to seek for the source of this growing evil? Is it not in the infidel school?

The State is already reaping the fruit of anti-clericalism, and yet persecution continues, and the people are still apathetic. But in other ways, too, is the country reaping a baneful harvest.\*

The intellect of France is drifting more and more

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(1) Lesêtre, *La Paroisse*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1907.

towards professionalism, and in great measure towards the teaching profession. The army which was once the pride of France is becoming every day more and more a subject of loathing to the average Frenchman. One of the largest tableaux in a recent Paris *Salon* was an elaborate idealization of the anti-militarist spirit now so common in the country. One of the questions put to all conscripts entering the army is the following: "Do you know what happened in 1870 and 1871?" Only three or four per cent. are able to answer! Such ignorance is intended and it is systematic. . . . To-day the French State teacher endeavors to quench in the hearts of children entrusted to him all military, all warlike sentiments, outside which the patriotic sentiment is but an empty word.(1)

These tendencies, which avowedly make for decay of national spirit, synchronize with the spread of socialist ideals amongst the teachers. The school teachers of France are no mere theorists. Not only have they formed clubs and teachers' unions in different departments, but they have centralized their schemes by the formation of a general teachers' organization, and this they have lately united with the great socialist organization, the *Confédération générale du Travail*. It is well known that this latter has endorsed very publicly some really dangerous strikes. The teachers declare that their object in associating themselves with this great organization is simply to be able to carry out a strike among members of their own profession when such is required. The Minister's prohibition as to their union with the

(1) So M. de Lamarzelle, Senator for Morbihan, in *Gaulois*, August, 1908.

*Confédération du Travail* has been treated with more or less scorn by the teachers, as they feel themselves too numerous and too strong to fear any Governmental regulation. What is to be thought of, or expected from teachers of youth, men and women, who have the sacred office entrusted to them of bringing up the youth of a country, and in large measure of making or marring the destinies of France, who express themselves thus: "Yesterday we had God for our master, to-day we have the State; two personalities different indeed, but yet alike in this, that they wish to mould the human intelligence in the same manner, and to imprint upon it the infamous stamp of self-annihilation, self-abnegation, and slavery." So says the *Voix des Primaires*, one of the most widely circulated of teachers' journals in France. The State, these teachers declare, is incapable of treating with them in educational matters; the State gives the opinion in vogue for the moment with the ruling classes; while the real instructor in the school is "Truth;" truth, be it remembered, as it exists in the heads and on the lips of teachers such as advocate violent views like those given above.

Now, at the present moment it may be said that the youth of France is committed definitely and hopelessly to such infidel training as the Government school offers. The dissolution of unauthorized Congregations in 1901, and the prohibiting in 1904 of such Congregations as were authorized to exist in France to do any work in the way of teaching or maintaining free schools, set aside a whole army of Catholic teachers, and closed an immense number of schools, with the result that about a million or more of the children of the poor were driven to the Government school as their sole means of education. No



doubt many from the ranks of the religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods remained in France, and assuming secular dress strove to carry on the work of teaching. Here and there, too, excellent men and women are to be found amongst the lay teachers of the Government schools. The picture is not wholly dark, but certainly the shadows are very heavy and largely prevail.

In order to make some stand against the corruption of the school, and to stem somewhat the torrent of infidelity for which the teachers in great measure, and the school-books in no small degree, are accountable, a society of *pères de famille* was started last year in Paris, mainly at the suggestion and by the warm support of the eloquent deputy and *littérateur*, Maurice Barrés. M. de Lamarzelle, Senator for Morbihan, writing in the *Gaulois*, explains clearly that the league of parents is for no purposes of political party action, but to defend the country against vicious teachers. He then gives a description of the *mauvais instituteurs*:

Whenever a teacher permits himself to tear up the Catechism, runs down the priest, or openly mocks at religious belief, uses filthy language, attacks the army, or ridicules the idea of the fatherland, such a one is an evil teacher against whom every father of a family has not only the right but is bound to protest and take action.

And that there are such teachers in the State schools, and that their number is legion, the Government has shown by undertaking to legislate in their interests alone:

It is for such as these that the Government has tabled a Bill which removes them from the jurisdiction of the law courts by prohibiting any citizen henceforth to prosecute them. These are the teachers who are to be pro-

tected. Sufficient demonstration of this is afforded by what has happened in connection with Morizot, who was condemned by the court of Dijon. This notorious teacher was, it is true, dismissed from his post; but this was merely an external satisfaction given to public opinion. This *Hervéist* was subsequently reinstated; he was transferred from the third to the second class, and his salary raised from 1,725 to 1,950 francs.

A number of dioceses have followed the example of the capital, and formed similar societies for the safeguarding of the children.

The Government was quick in the field with a new measure more stringent and drastic than any preceding one. The new law was proposed to the Chamber of Deputies on June 25 and 30, 1908. First, penalties are enacted against parents or guardians, or any responsible person, who wholly or partially prevents a child from frequenting the school of the Commune to which the child belongs, or from using the books prescribed by the authorities of such a school. The second clause takes away the right of parents or guardians to complain of the action of school teachers, and the right of parents to seek redress of grievances, in regard to their children, from the Prefect of the Department. The Minister, in introducing this measure, declares that the motives for it are to be found in the conduct of both parents and priests with regard to the education of children. Against "*these two enemies of the child*" the Government takes both teachers and school-books under its special protection. The books in use are to be such only as inculcate the "broadest liberalism and tolerance founded on reason and free research." A fine-sounding formula surely, but which in its working means active warfare on

Christianity. So strict are the Government inspectors in regard to the books that the smallest words even that would suggest a religious idea, or remind the child of God, or of another world, are carefully replaced by others less suggestive. Thus, in a small book still retained for its literary excellence, the word "church" is replaced by "museum" or "hall," the word "crucifix" by "emblem," etc.

The measures taken by the clergy and parents to withstand this wholesale destruction of religion are not exactly what we should call ideal; they are naturally subject to the imperfections of the difficult times through which France is passing. But still they remind parents of their duty, and lay bare the pit-falls so speciously prepared by the Socialists. The greatest difficulty about such regulation and plans of a Catholic association in modern France is that of making its programme known and felt by the people who want it most. In some provinces there are immense areas where it may be said religious indifference reigns; the people never go to church; they never read a decent newspaper; if they read a paper at all the Socialists are sure to have them supplied with an anti-clerical journal; they send their children to the church to be baptized, and later on to prepare for and receive their first Holy Communion; then, as a rule, religion is finished. They may go to the church for the celebration of a marriage, or the funeral of a friend, but they are not so careful about these latter functions. The children act as the parents, and remain far from any contact with religion or its representatives.

Hence a bishop's pastoral means practically nothing to such people. The French *curés* who know something of the provinces are clear on this point, and look forward

to whole tracts of the country becoming actually as pagan as they were in the time of St. Martin,(1) or rather more so, for to the vices of paganism those of civilization shall have been added. Side by side with this indifference must be noticed the enormous influence for evil of what is called in France the *fonctionnaire*, the Government servant. France is the land of officialdom. Nearly a million, actually over 900,000 *fonctionnaires*, are to-day in the Government service; now all these, as well as their connexions, *must* support the Government school. France presents a network of sycophants who are working on the human respect of the people, spreading terror or exciting hopes, as they expatiate on the penalties threatened by the law or the prospect of a Government job, and so the extensive machine is worked and the behests of the Government carried out. Hence the saying that "God made the country and man made the town" is almost reversed in modern France; for while there is good hope of religious progress in the city, the country parts, mainly owing to influences mentioned above, are rapidly returning to paganism. It is an awful lesson that France is giving to the world, that, namely, of Socialism working out its most destructive principles. The child is claimed by the State as its possession, fashioned according to a socialist ideal, robbed of all sense of religious or moral responsibility, and then sent adrift to take its just revenge on those to whom it owes its training, by the warm advocacy of anarchy. The home, the first and greatest of all educators, is despised; and for it is substituted the school of the Commune, wherein the "social virtues," "the religion of duty," "the principles

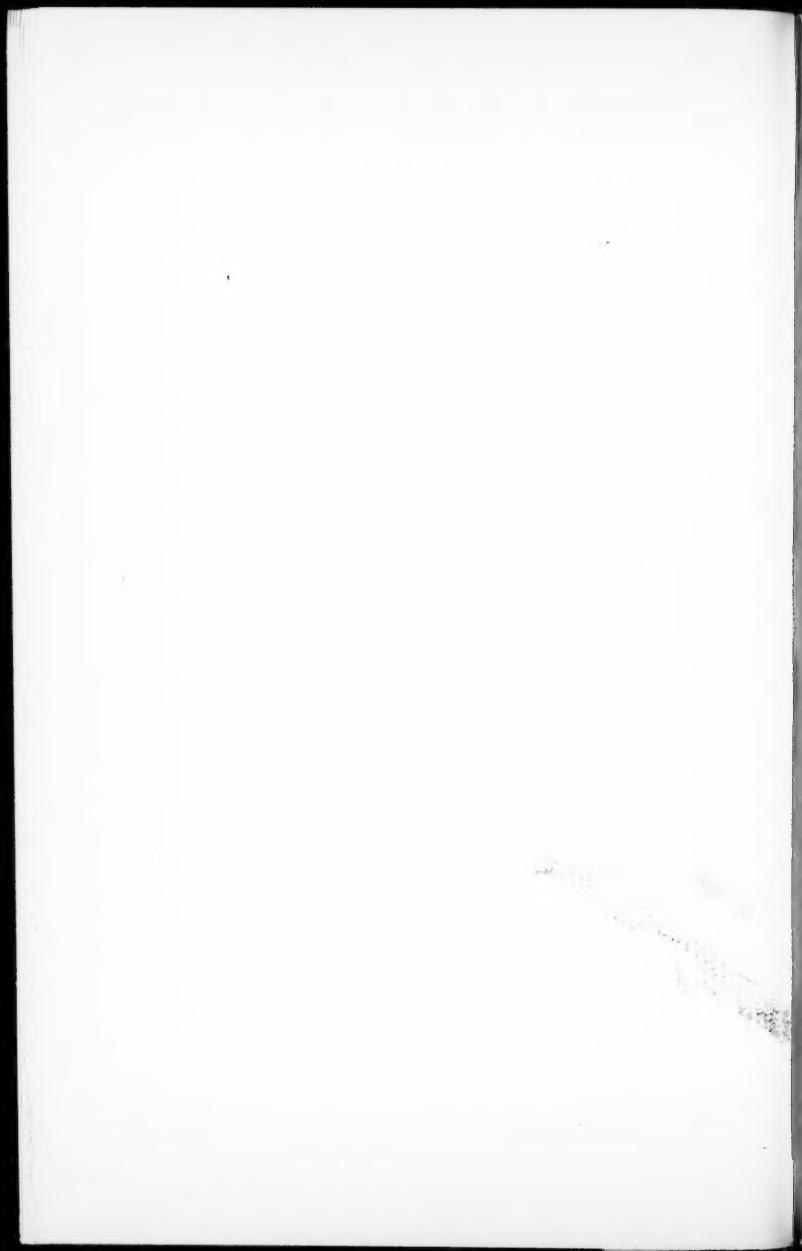
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(1) See Lesêtre, *La Paroisse*, p. 253.

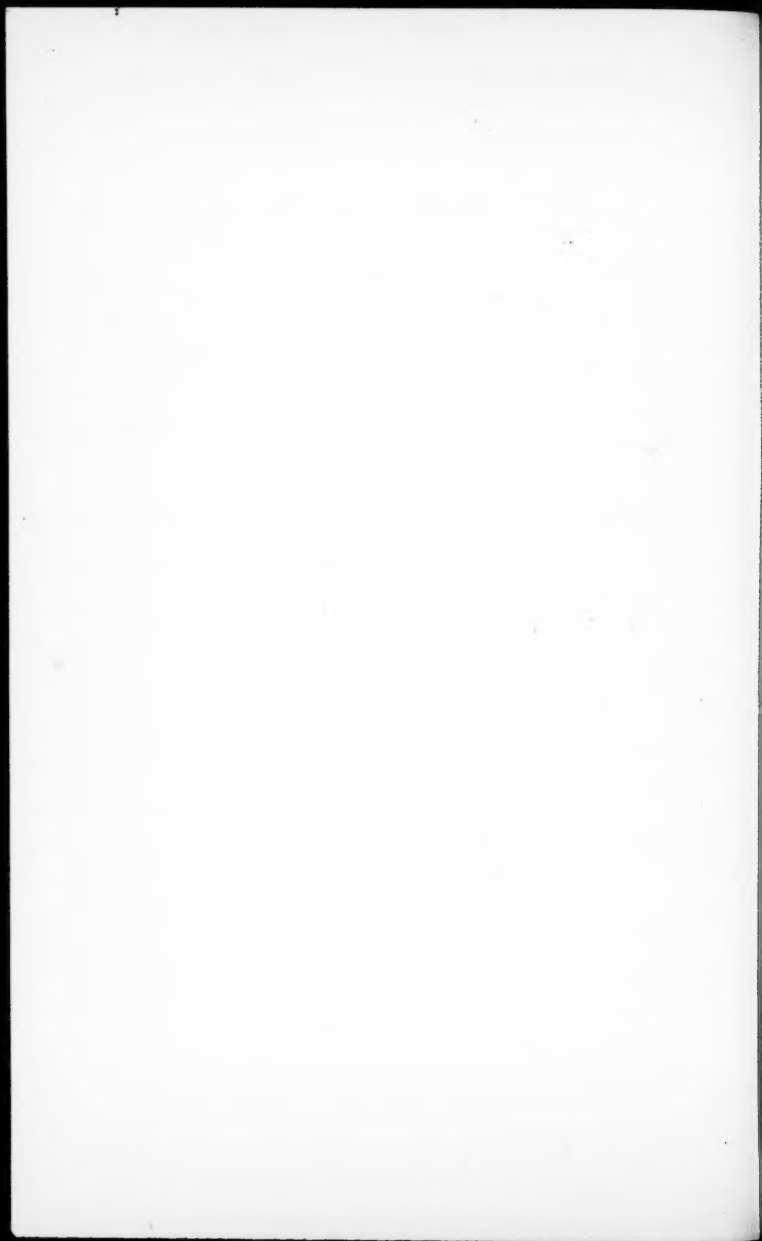
of free thought," form the groundwork of infidelity and immorality. If other countries are to learn anything from this sad picture, it is surely this, that the safeguarding of the Christian home and the Christian school is the most imperative duty of the hour.

*Irish Ecclesiastical Record.*

J. E. N.



# **PSYCHOTHERAPY**





## PSYCHOTHERAPY(I)

During the last year or two the air has been full of discussion of psychotherapy. The reason for this is well known. Christian Scientists have found that by denying the existence of evil and of disease of all kinds (it is even doubtful whether their doctrines logically followed to their conclusions—if one ever thought of putting logic in this galley—do not also deny the existence of death in spite of the evidence to the contrary) have succeeded in relieving many people of ills with which they have been afflicted often for long years. These ills have almost as a rule been under the care of physicians, usually indeed of a number of physicians, who have failed to relieve them. The consequence has been a calling of attention to this new mode of viewing disease. Until the last couple of years this awakening of attention was confined to Christian Science circles. Christian Science was found, however, to be making such serious inroads on the membership of Protestant churches that the question not unnaturally occurred of taking up some of the Christian Science ideas with regard to the healing of disease by changing the mental attitude of people toward their ailments, in order to prevent further defections from Protestantism and even perhaps to attract people who had not been seriously interested in religion up to that time.

It is universally conceded that this is the origin of the present very lively interest in psychotherapeutics or men-

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(1) This is an abstract of some lectures delivered in the course in Psychotherapy in the Fordham University School of Medicine to the third and fourth year classes.

tal healing. With the complacency that characterizes this generation, however, there has come the additional thought that this is a new evolution of human knowledge consequent upon our recent progress in psychology, and, above all, in physiological psychology, that is the influence of the mind on the body and the body on the mind. There are many people, even among the educated, who are inclined to think that this new movement represents a wonderful step forward in evolution, and that as was to be expected from the great rule of progress in the world some such new development as this might well have been expected to come at this time. Christian Science is rather an occasion than a cause for it then, and we are the important witnesses of a great step forward in the realization of how much men's minds can do to save them even from serious bodily ills and enable them to use their mental powers not only to lessen the symptoms of disease but actually to modify and perhaps even control disease processes.

For anyone who thinks that this is a new development it may be well to recall the fact that nearly 2500 years ago Plato said in the "Republic" that "the bother with the physicians in our time is that they paid too much attention to men's bodies and too little attention to their souls (or minds)." The expression occurs in a well-known passage in which Socrates is telling how he was able to cure the headache of a young man by suggestion. The Athenian sage pretended to have a remedy that had been used at the Court of some Eastern King and that was known to be very efficient for the cure of headache, and though it was really indifferent in its effects the employment of it produced the desired result. Those who think that the mental treatment of disease is new should

read other passages of Plato in which he brings out very clearly how much he realizes that the mind influences the body, and that many of our ills, while not entirely imaginary, are really due to the fact that we dwell over-much on them and so exaggerate them. He says, for instance, that in his generation men were educating themselves in disease instead of in health, and that this was making many people very miserable.

After all, this is only what might be expected from one of these wise old Greeks, who summed up what was best in man, not only in art and in literature, but also in philosophy, and at least in the mental sciences. The great Father of Greek Medicine, Hippocrates, has insisted in many places in his work on the necessity for the physician exercising his influence over the patient's mind, reassuring him and giving him confidence in the ultimately favorable outcome of his disease. Galen, the next great authority in medicine, the Greek physician from Pergamos, who taught at Rome in the second century after Christ, has many expressions that show how much he realized this same truth. These were thoroughly scientific men whose works have always been read by the great leaders of medicine in successive generations and whose opinions have never entirely been lost sight of in spite of all the supposed progress in medicine. Two or three times in the world's history there has been a revolution of medicine as a consequence of renewed interest in the work of these old masters who viewed the subject of medical practice and human disease from so broad and sympathetic a standpoint.

When Sydenham, the English Hippocrates, as he has been so well called, renewed the youth of English medicine, the most valuable advice he had to give to his

disciples was to read Hippocrates carefully. Sydenham himself is a typical example of a physician who knew how to use mental influence in securing the cure of certain ailments. A characteristic story is told of a distinguished nobleman, with more money and time on his hands than was good for him, who had made the rounds of all the learned physicians in order to be cured of symptoms of indigestion with which he was very much bothered. Sydenham very soon found out that if he did not succeed in getting the man's mind off his symptoms he would never be able to do him any enduring good. Accordingly he suggested to the nobleman that there was just one thing that would benefit him. That was a famous spring at Inverness in the Scotch Highlands, and that spring would only benefit him in case he should take its waters under the special guidance of a distinguished physician whose home was there and who was famous for having cured a series of these extremely difficult cases in which his London colleagues had failed.

The nobleman immediately posted off to Inverness. At that time it was a six weeks' journey, and even for that travel had to be pretty constant. To the nobleman's surprise when he reached Inverness there was no doctor of the name given him by Sydenham in the neighborhood, nor had any one in those parts ever heard of him. Worse still, there was no healing spring of any kind near Inverness, and there seemed to be no doubt that either Sydenham had been deliberately fooling him in order to get rid of him, or else he had made an egregious blunder and had sent his patient to the wrong place. The nobleman posted back to London completely preoccupied with the idea of telling Sydenham what he thought of him. When nearly three months after he had left London he

reached the great London physician's office once more, he burst out wrathfully over the fool's errand on which he had been sent. Sydenham said very calmly: "What about your stomach symptoms?" The nobleman had to confess that he had forgotten all about them in his anxiety to reach Inverness and that they had been even more completely lost sight of, if possible, in his still greater anxiety to get back to London and speak his mind to Sydenham. "Well," Sydenham said, "I hope that you have learned a lesson that what you need above all is occupation for your mind about other things than your stomach." Unfortunately we are not told just how the nobleman took it, for the treatment seems rather heroic. It leaves no room for doubt that Sydenham used in less trenchant way the power of mental influence in the treatment of disease, and makes very clear how much he valued this therapeutic factor in his practice.

We are not in the presence then of a new departure in therapeutics nor of a new development in psychology in the present reawakening of interest in psychotherapeutics. We have been going through a period of preoccupation with material science. A generation ago biologists were mainly of the opinion that life processes could be explained by means of physical and chemical principles. Absorption was thought to be a phenomenon of osmosis, and respiration a phase of the diffusion of gases. Now we know that these phenomena violate the laws of osmosis and diffusion of gases in many ways, and that the power of the living cell is always exerted so as to bring a new factor into these biological problems. Vitalism, or the system of thought which recognizes a principle of life as a separate independent force in living things, is now once more in honor.

In recent years we have had emphasized for us the fact that the personality of the individual may influence his bodily functions and that it does actually train his brain in many ways. While there are features of this knowledge that are new and are developments of modern ideas with regard to brain anatomy and brain physiology, the underlying principles of the influence of mind upon body and bodily structures of all kinds are very old. Men have always realized something of this and the subject has been of interest whenever men have turned their attention to it sufficiently to appreciate its true significance. While we are not exploiting something new then in this recent spell of attention to psychotherapy, it is worth while realizing that we are in the midst of a reaction from materialism toward a recognition of the spiritual forces at work in man's nature, and that these are now to be given something more like their proper place in life and in medicine and in the prophylaxis and the cure of disease. This newer movement affects people outside of the Catholic Church much more than people inside, because we have always retained a definite recognition of the influence of mind and soul over body, and of the power of prayer to dispose the mind toward bodily ills, so that even the attitude of mind consequent upon prayer was itself in part an answer to the prayer.

While much has been said in new terms, very little has been added to old knowledge. Suggestion has come in as if that were a new force in the world discovered as a consequence of recent devotion to psychology. Men have, however, always been suggesting good and evil to themselves and thus influencing their bodily conditions. One of the very old stories in the spiritual life is that with regard to the hermit, St. Anthony, and the

young solitary who came to consult him. The young man felt sure that St. Anthony must have some precious message for him, after all his years in the desert, that would enable him to live the spiritual life more completely and with less distraction, and that surely some of his experience might be repeated for the benefit of another. He asked him then for a message—a bit of advice that would be a precious heritage for all his years in the spiritual life. St. Anthony is said to have replied: “I am an old man and I have had many troubles, but most of them never happened.”

That message contains the very essence of one phase of psychotherapy. For in psychotherapeutics, as in all questions of the handling of disease, there are two elements that must be emphasized. The first is that of prophylaxis, that is the prevention of disease. The other is the care and the cure of the disease. St. Anthony's expression represents what can be done for the prophylaxis or prevention of many symptoms that bother people. Most of the manifestations of disease are not so annoying but that they may be readily borne if only we were sure that they did not have a serious ulterior significance. We borrow trouble with regard to them. We fear that they mean either the beginning of the end or of some ailment that will continue to bother us in spite of all that can be done for us. We work over the future, we occupy our minds with these worries, and so use up precious nervous energy that might be employed in making the condition well. We thus delay our convalescence; we sometimes even make our symptoms worse, and occasionally out of ailments that are of no great significance in themselves we even make serious discomforts that seem to render life scarcely worth the while living for us.

The influence of the mind over the body is, of course, neither an abstruse nor unfamiliar truth. On the contrary, we all are thoroughly conversant with the fact that various animal functions of the body usually supposed to go on of themselves and quite apart from all consciousness of them may be readily disturbed by an unfavorable mental attitude. The crudest of our functions is that of digestion, but that, as is well known, is largely under the control of the psyche. There are many illustrations that might be given of this, but perhaps the best one for our purpose is the little story which Max Müller uses at the beginning of his book on language to exemplify how easy it is for language, in a rude form at least, to be invented by the imitation of certain sounds. An Englishman traveling in China feared that he would not be able to get food such as he cared for—a misfortune that would have made his journey very trying. His first day out from Hong Kong, however, he was helped to some stew made of dark meat, nicely seasoned, that was just exactly to his taste and of which he asked for a second helping. In order that he should be sure that he would be able to get the same dish at other places where he was traveling, he tried to inquire as to its name and content, but no one understood any English and he understood no Chinese. Finally, pointing to the dish in question, he said very suggestively, and with rising inflection, “quack-quack?” and the waiter said “no, no; bow wow!” The effect upon the Englishman is not stated, but it is easy to understand that this simple expression illustrating the value of an onomatopoeia might very well have seriously disturbed the digestion of his meal though he had eaten it with the greatest relish, and there was no reason in the world why he should reject



it except that his mind had been influenced unfavorably toward the contents of his stomach by an unfortunate answer to a still more unfortunate question.

It is well understood that if any one is thoroughly persuaded that a particular kind of food will not agree with his or her stomach, anticipation in this matter will surely be realized. There are supposed to be a great many people in the world with whom certain articles of food are sure to disagree, and so we have the popular expression, "what is one man's meat may be another man's poison." As a matter of fact, however, of the ordinary simple nutriments, meat, eggs, milk and the various vegetables, there are practically none that disagree with people unless there are special circumstances in which they are taken. Milk does not stand well being mixed with a great variety of food, but needs to be taken with simple meals. Eggs improperly mixed with other articles may disagree, but the prevailing impression in a large number of people's minds that by an idiosyncrasy of nature they are unable to take these things is entirely an illusion fostered by some unfortunate experience. This is so different from ordinary impressions that it seems worth while insisting on it to some extent. Not infrequently it happens that a mixture of acid fruits and milk in childhood has led to the rejection of milk. Occasionally, too, when milk was not perfectly fresh, as often happened twenty years ago because of insufficient precautions in its collection and distribution in cities, people often acquired a distaste for it which is now translated into a natural repugnance that cannot be overcome and that indicates a definite objection on nature's part to this particular kind of food. This is entirely a mental condition and not at all a digestive peculiarity. Those

of us who have had much to do with sanatoria for tuberculosis, where it is one of the main purposes to secure the taking of considerable quantities of milk by patients, know that those who have any real digestive idiosyncrasy against milk do not represent one in twenty of those who originally assert that it would be impossible for them to take this valuable nutriment. Nearly the same thing is true of eggs. Many people insist that they make them bilious and give them headaches and have other untoward effects upon them, but all that is needed to convince more than nine out of every ten of these people that this is not true is a little mental persuasion so as to change their attitude of mind towards eggs and then a serious trial of good fresh eggs properly prepared and not taken with too great a variety of other foods.

It is easy to understand how much psychotherapy may influence the condition of patients of this kind. If they need to put on weight, and about one out of every four patients who come to a physician needs this, then the taking of milk and eggs and butter in considerable quantities is a necessity. If these people insist that they cannot take them it is very hard to make them gain in weight. Once their attitude of mind is changed, however, they proceed promptly to accommodate themselves to these foods and the result is soon seen in an increase of weight that adds to the resistive vitality.

It might be thought possible that while this influence of the mind over the digestive organs is so prominent a feature of life, the same sort of influence could not be traced with regard to other organs which are ordinarily considered quite beyond the domain of the will and of the mental attitude. The heart, for instance, would

ordinarily be assumed to be quite beyond the control of the psyche. As a matter of fact it is not. Certain people can, by an effort of the will, cause their hearts to miss beats, and it is well known that the heart is greatly influenced by the emotions. This has always been so noticeable that in the olden time, before Steno, the great bishop-anatomist, discovered that the heart is a muscle, this organ used to be considered a secreter of emotions. When Steno announced his discovery there was a little storm of indignation, because a mere anatomist, interested only in tissues, had dared to assert that the heart was only a muscular pump and not the central organ of emotive life. Remembering this, it is not hard to understand why the heart should be affected by emotional disturbances and worry of any kind.

It must be recalled, however, that the heart is an organ which is formed in the body before any portion of the nervous system has come into existence. This formation has been studied very well in the chick, and this is a type of the formation of the heart in the higher species. In the incubated egg on the second day the arterial tube which is to form the heart and the arterial system takes on a curious twist just at the point where the heart is to be formed and begins to pulsate. This is the first motion of existence. Ever after this the heart continues to beat regularly. Should anything ever stop it, it is the end of existence for the organism. At the moment when this beating begins there is absolutely no trace of the nervous system. The heart would seem to be the very seat of life itself. In spite of this, however, a little later it comes under the influence of the nervous system; it may be rendered more rapid by emotions, it may be rendered much slower by depression, and even

intermission will occur as the result of worry about it. This is not mere assertion, but has been observed experimentally over and over again. Prof. Oppenheim, in one of his letters to nervous patients, has stated this so explicitly that it deserves to be quoted here. He is writing to a young man oversolicitous about his heart, and who complains of its irregularity, its palpitation, its missing of beats. He says: "*The heart rebels, as it were, against this surveillance,*(1) which not only accelerates, but may even inhibit its action and render it irregular.

"And so it is with all the organs of the body which act spontaneously (automatically or mechanically, like a clock); they get out of order and become functionally defective, if, as the result of the attention and self-observation directed towards them, impulses flow to them from the centres of consciousness and will in the same way as they flow to the organs (e. g., the muscles) which are normally under the control of the will.

"Whenever you succeed in controlling the action of your heart by means of introspection, there flows from your brain to your heart a current of innervation which disturbs the automatic movement of the organ. You know whom you have to thank for the irregularity in the action of your heart. I have frequently proved this to myself in your case: if I succeeded in feeling your pulse without your becoming aware of it, holding your attention by a conversation which interested you, the action of your heart was always absolutely regular. If, however, I tried it under your control, whilst your attention was anxiously directed to your heart, its action at once became irregular, and you experienced the very unpleasant sensation of palpitation."

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(1) Italics Prof. Oppenheim's.

There is one class of ailments that can be treated better by mental therapeutics than in any other way. This consists of the pathological habits, the alcoholic and drug addictions. Physicians have had long experience now with all sorts of cures for inebriety and for drug habits. We are perfectly sure that no method of treatment that does not take into account the lifting up of the patient's own will is of anything more than temporary avail. We can take a patient suffering from alcoholic excesses, all trembling, without appetite, and with every cell craving for stimulants. We can, partly by soothing and partly by stimulating remedies, bring this patient back to almost, if not quite, his normal physical condition. No remedy that we have, however, will prevent him from taking alcohol again *if he wants to*. That part is entirely in his power and can only be accomplished by him. If he puts himself in the occasion of forming the habit again he will almost surely relapse. If he keeps away from alcohol completely—and this is the only way—he can for many years live without another unfortunate experience.

Just the same thing is true for the drug habits. We can gradually lessen the amount of the drugs that the patient has been taking, whether morphine or cocaine or anything else, and restore him to physical health. We cannot give him character, however, and we cannot rule his will. Patients must make up their own minds that they are not going to fall back into their habits. In this, much can be done for them by suggestion, by motives drawn from religion, by the persuasion of those whom they honor and respect. No man, no matter how bad a drunkard he has been, or how low a drug fiend, is hopeless. We have cases of men who had scarcely drawn a

sober breath in a score of years who have become apostles of temperance because they got a motive to help them out of the mire of their habit. No serious thinking physician now believes that inebriety or any drug addiction is incurable. On the contrary, they are quite easily curable, but relapses can be prevented only by the patient exercising his will to keep out of them. It is in this matter that the Emmanuel movement has had its best successes, but, as is well known, it is in this that the confessional, the pledge, and our temperance societies work wonders and have been doing so from time immemorial. It is always worth the while trying, and psychotherapeutics in this class of disease is open to no objections and liable to no abuses.

It is not alone with regard to functional disturbances, however, that psychotherapy or the use of mental influence is important in medicine. Of course mental influence cannot affect organic disease. A crumpled heart valve can no more be helped by an idea than can an amputated limb. An ulcerated lung can no more be cured in this way than can an ulcerated eye. With all of the organic diseases, however, there comes a series of symptoms that are often even harder to bear than those due directly to the disease itself. These symptoms are the results of the discouragement, the depression and the lowered state of mental activity which comes with incurable disease. This mental depression may be the most important factor in causing loss of appetite and various digestive disturbances. It may be the most prominent element in that general disturbance of the patient which makes all the functions of the body run at a much lower capacity than they ought to, and which consequently disturbs general vitality, weakens the patient very seri-

ously, and leads to intercurrent disease. All of these symptoms may be influenced very much and very favorably by psychotherapy.

So far from being a minor consideration, this is an extremely important part of the treatment of disease. We have learned in recent years by the progress of pathology that many diseases, especially those of the central nervous system, are absolutely hopeless of cure. Most of them are due to the blotting out of portions of the central nerve system and this could not be cured short of a re-creation of these parts. It would be just as sensible to expect the restoration of an amputated finger by means of the application of some salve for which marvelous properties were claimed as to think of the cure of a genuine case of locomotor ataxia. Certain portions of the spinal cord have been literally wiped out in the progress of that disease. The patient will never again have the use of them. We can do nothing for his disease. When this is brought home to the patient he becomes depressed and discouraged, and this adds much to his already pitiable condition. For these functional disturbances, superadded to the underlying disease, we can do much by sympathetic treatment, and, above all, by stimulating and encouraging the patient. This is a feature of psychotherapeutics that deserves to be emphasized very much.

The incurable diseases of mankind are many. Life is still from the very beginning an inevitable tendency toward death. Prof. Minot of Harvard has shown that certain characteristic cell changes that indicate the growing old of the organism occur proportionately with more rapidity in the very young years than they do later in life. The progress of senescence becomes slower as we

grow older. No one seriously hopes to avoid death, and the prospect of materially lengthening life, in spite of the authority of such a great name as that of Metchnikoff, is not looked at very hopefully by medical authorities. Practically all organic diseases leave impairment of organs behind them, which sooner or later, in conjunction with other changes in the organism, are sure to produce inevitable tendencies to death. Nature has wonderful compensatory powers, however, and in spite of serious organic lesions may continue to support existence. All worry about the condition, however, simply consumes the vital energy that might be used in bringing about compensation.

Man may live for many years with one lung almost entirely out of commission. Indeed portions of both lungs may be so seriously diseased as to be almost useless, yet one can not only continue to live but do good work. Robert Louis Stevenson and John Addington Symonds are typical examples of this and of the fact that tuberculosis carries off ultimately only the "quitters," and that a man with serious tuberculosis lesions may crowd a long life's work into twenty years in spite of many interruptions from illness. This same thing is true for nearly every other form of organic lesion. A man with organic heart disease may live many years, provided he takes reasonable care of himself and does not become discouraged. A physician may say that a disease is incurable, and may be correct in this declaration, yet the patient may live for many years of useful existence. To many persons, however, the decision that their disease cannot be cured seems almost like a death notice, and they grow discouraged, thus hampering nature's power to help compensate for their organic impairment,



no matter what it is. It is for this that mental therapeutics or psychotherapy is of special importance.

Prof. Oppenheim, the distinguished German specialist, from whom we have already quoted, has declared that one of the most efficient factors in the treatment of incurable nervous disease, and even of nervous diseases generally, is the belief in prayer and a trust in Providence. If people once realize that they are not the victims of some blind energy, carrying them off untimely to death, but that they are a part of a great purpose directed to some definite aim quite as completely as are all the celestial bodies, in spite of the divagation that seems to exist among them, then they acquire a feeling of confidence as to the future that enables them to use all their vitality for health purposes instead of wasting much of it in worry over their condition and the outcome of their ailment. The less worry the more nature's forces are conserved for their proper uses. Solicitude consumes energy to no purpose. No one man can add a cubit to his stature by thinking about it, and no one can help a diseased organ by worrying about it; and on the contrary, worry is a serious detriment to the general condition. Whatever then will help a man to avoid worry is really a curative agent—hence the value of what may be called the mental influence that comes from the side of religion.

This, of course, has been one of the regular duties of the Catholic clergyman at all times. This kind of psychotherapy is not new, but is as old as Christ himself, even when he did not use his divine power actually to cure organic ailments. His words of advice to bear up under the ills of life have been the consolation of many a sufferer, and his own example of suffering and

death has been one of the best refuges for the ailing at all times. A more direct interference in medical affairs than this on the part of clergymen will be sure to bring unnumbered abuses and evils in its train. It is the recognition of disease, rather than its treatment, that is the difficult problem in medicine. Already we are beginning to see in medical circles some of the evils that are so sure to flow from clerical interference in medicine when the clergyman does more than make the patient realize what great consolations there are in religion and how much health he can secure for himself by turning with confidence to God and realizing that Providence cares for everything in the world, and that his sufferings, even when his own fault, are a portion of that Divine plan and have a meaning for him and for others.

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# Socialism and Christianity

## I.

Article by the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D., in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, January, 1909.

The question has been much discussed as to whether a definite and specific social doctrine is to be found in the Gospel(1); whether it puts forward a distinct theory or the outlines of an economic system which would offer a solution of the problems that confront the present age.(2) Did our Lord come into the world as a great social reformer? Did he intend to upset and renew the social and political conditions He found in existence? Did He elaborate a scheme of life for the family, society, the state? Did He lay down in detail definite and unchangeable laws regarding justice, labor, property, riches and poverty?(3) Did He aim at securing equality of possession and material comfort amongst men? With us religion is not a mere individual affair left to our private judgment and our private thoughts. It has been always conceived, preached and propagated as essentially and pre-eminently social.(4) Does the Gospel, then, not trace the foundations of the 'City of God'? Does it convey to us no social message to serve as a lamp in the darkness that envelopes us?

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(1) *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, by C. Peabody, Professor of Christian Morals, University of Harvard, chap. i., p. 53. *Evangelium und Arbeit*, by Simon Weber. Herder, Freiburg, 1898. *Christliche Lehre vom Erdengut*, by Alfred Winterstein. Kirchheim, Mainz, 1898.

(2) *L'Enseignement Social de Jésus*, A. Lugan, xi.-xvi.

(3) *Evangelium und Arbeit*, Simon Weber.

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Christ, our Lord, is not a reformer like those of this world. He came not only to redeem us but to teach us our true relations to the Father who is in heaven.(1) His kingdom was not of this world. It was another kingdom He came to establish. When once that other kingdom was firmly founded in the hearts of men all other interests would be promoted.(2) Seek this first and all the rest will be added unto you. It is not that earthly conditions were indifferent to Him: but He takes His own way of reaching them; for His kingdom begins with the life of faith and grace; and faith and grace will work out their harmonious purpose here as well as hereafter. He does not repel or seek to repress any legitimate aspirations of those around Him; but apparently he accepted both the social and political organization of His time. His enemies wished to entrap Him into a declaration against Roman rule in Judæa when they asked Him was it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar.(3) It was lawful within the limits of Cæsar's rights, but not beyond them. God had rights which assuredly were not subordinate to Cæsar's; and they, too, should be respected. Had Roman rule been oppressive and the Jews risen in revolt it is probable that Christ with equal indifference would have enunciated some general law applicable to all nations and all times. He saw around Him the upper classes, proud, selfish, severe; the poor, wretched and despised. Nowhere does He seek to foment disturbance, or urge the poor to rebel. He had only to put Himself at their head when more than once they wished to make Him their

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(1) Matt. vii, 21; xii, 28.

(2) Matt. vi, 33.

(3) Matt. xxii, 17.

king(1); but the rôle of the agitator or the demagogue could not be His. He did not come to bring war to society but peace; and if in any sense He brought into the world not peace but a sword, it was a sword to make war on pride and selfishness, the corruptions of the heart, and undue attachment to the things of earth.(2) When Cæsar-Augustus issued his edict for the taking of the census, Joseph and Mary, leaving Nazareth, go up to Bethlehem, to obey the law; and it was there that the Saviour of the world was born, consecrating by His advent at that particular juncture an act of obedience to the orders of a pagan prince. His subsequent life confirms the lesson of His birth. Neither against Cæsar or his viceroys or governors does He utter a word of sedition. Three of His most striking miracles are performed in the interest of Centurion officers of the Roman army. The whole organization around Him, consisting of civil servants, fiscal officials, magistrates, officers, soldiers, landowners and laborers, masters and servants, not only escapes comment or condemnation, but is the basis of the parables of the lost sheep, the unjust steward, the prodigal son, the laborers in the vineyard, the nuptial feast, and many others, which would appear to recognize it as part of a just and legitimate order of things. But whilst Jesus did not touch there and then the existing organization, He was sowing in the hearts of men a seed which He knew would grow to mighty proportions, imparting a doctrine which would leaven the mass of mankind and effect a transformation of that society, gradual and slow it might be, but how great the history of Christianity can tell. 'Dives' He condemns, not because

(1) John vi, 15; Matt. xxi, 9; Mark xi, 10.

(2) Matt. x, 34.

he was rich, but because he allowed Lazarus to die of hunger at his door.(1) And if He says(2) that 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God' He immediately adds: 'The things that are impossible with men are possible with God.'

He showed, on the other hand, His predilection for the poor by becoming one of themselves, and living in their midst. He was the 'Son of the Carpenter,'(3) the 'worker in wood,' and although His mother had in her veins the royal blood of David, she, too, was lowly and humble. His best graces and gifts were for the poor. His Apostles belonged almost exclusively to the laboring and humble classes. On all His journeys it is the poor who follow and surround Him. It was to evangelize the poor His Father sent Him, *evangelizare pauperibus misit me*.(4) He consoles the widows, cures the lame, the deaf, the dumb and the blind, feeds the hungry, comforts the distressed. He who offers a glass of water to one of His followers shall not lose his reward.(5) He is the only begotten Son of the Eternal Father, the great elder brother of all men; and when they appear before Him to be judged their best title to His favor and clemency will be that when He was thirsty they gave Him to drink; when He was hungry they fed Him; when He was naked they clothed Him; when He was in prison they came to Him; when He was a stranger they gave Him shelter; for as often as they did any of these things

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(1) Luke vi, 19, 31.

(2) Luke xviii, 25.

(3) Mark vi; Matt. xiii, 55. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ τέκτονος*.

(4) Luke iv, 18.

(5) Matt. x, 42; Mark ix, 41.



to one of His poor they did it to Him.(1) When He wishes to fill His house at the banquet-feast it is not the rich He seeks (for they shall want a recompense) but the poor and the feeble, the blind and the lame. These the ideal rich man not only invites but orders his steward to compel to come.(2) It must never be forgotten that the Redeemer Himself was a laborer, and the foster-son of a laborer, a member of the proletariat, an artisan, a maker of chairs and tables, and of the wooden parts of agricultural implements. If there were not another word in the Gospel about labor that would suffice. Christ ennobled it, sanctified and set it free. So great an example can be followed by any man. If God(3) made man condescended to work and undergo fatigue who can complain?

On the other hand 'wo to you rich [*vae vobis divitibus*] for you have your consolation.'(4) Your only standing in the kingdom of Christ is as the friends and benefactors of the poor. If you wish to escape the malediction you must hasten to their assistance. His kingdom is chiefly theirs, and you are admitted only on strict conditions. He who is great amongst them must be their servant. He who is humble shall be exalted. He who is merciful shall receive mercy.

Meanwhile our Father [His and ours] Who is in heaven, makes His sun to rise over the good and the

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(1) Matt. xxv, 35.

(2) Luke xiv, 21.

(3) "Jesus fatigatus dat nobis exemplum sustinendi laborem. Si igitur gravat labor consideremus Christum laborantem." St. Bonaventure, Collat. xiv. See also *Evangelium und Arbeit*, by Simon Weber, pp. 21-36.

(4) Luke vi, 24.

bad, the rich and the poor, His rain to fall on the just and the unjust, giving us thereby a lesson in forbearance that none should forget. From the Mountain Jesus proclaims to us that we cannot serve two masters, that if riches or material welfare are to engage all our energies we cannot at the same time pursue the kingdom of heaven. We cannot serve God and Mammon. Nor should this be a cause of anxiety or distress:—

*Therefore, I say to you, be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat, nor for your body what you shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat, and the body more than the raiment?*

*Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they?(1)*

*Be not solicitous, therefore, saying, what shall we eat; or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed?*

*For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things.*

*Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.(2)*

What is the good of a man struggling for the shadow when the substance which remains for ever is sacrificed?

*Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.*

*Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled.(3)*

In all this our Lord implies that the state of poverty, far from being an obstacle to the pursuit of the heavenly

(1) Matt. vi, 25, 26.

(2) Matt. vi, 31, 33.

(3) Luke vi, 20, 21.

kingdom, is rather favorable to it than otherwise. But He does not recommend poverty as such nor place any obstacle to the legitimate pursuit of wealth. It is poverty of spirit and detachment from the things of earth that He recommends as essential. Provided you seek first the kingdom of God and observe the law of justice and charity, you can accept, with a grateful spirit, all that is added unto you. If, however, you wish to be perfect, to do more than is absolutely needful for salvation through zeal for others, to become more and more like the Divine Model, then sell your goods to feed the poor, take up your Cross and follow the Master through the road of trials and hardships (1) and abasement. Few, indeed, are called to this state of perfect charity; the great mass even of the followers of Christ are at liberty to pursue their earthly avocations and lawful employment, provided they do not seek to serve God and Mammon and put the kingdom of this world before the kingdom of heaven.

Nobody need seek in these words an approval of that sort of fatalism which would paralyze the social activities and energies of the followers of Christ. Our Lord Himself would be the first to repudiate any such interpretation of His words. With what scorn it would be rejected by St. Paul who so vehemently urged even the poor to work, 'so that you want nothing of any man's,' and gave them the example 'in labor and in toil night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you, not as if we had not power, but that we might give ourselves a pattern to you to imitate.' Nor could there be any greater mistake than to think that because the 'kingdom of God is not of this world' it is a sign of perfection in men in general to be indifferent to all that relates to this life on earth. This

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(1) Matt. xv, 19, 24.

life is a preparation for the next. The next will depend on it. And this life is concerned with rulers and subjects, families and citizens, magistrates, soldiers, merchants, manufacturers, employers and laborers, marrying and giving in marriage, buying and selling. There is no form of atheism more pernicious, more injurious to God and more fatal to man, than that which seeks to erect a barrier between Christian life, Christian teaching, and all these things. As if religion were a mere private affair, having no bearing on actual life; or a thing of outward show and lip service, like that of the Pharisees.

No doubt it is through the individual conscience these things are to be reached, and that is why the individual conscience has first to be enlightened and purified.

In every man, no matter how poor, how despised, how disfigured by labor, by disease, by the blows of fortune or the stains of vice, there is concealed some place or other a distinct and more or less resplendent image of the Creator. That is what gives him his dignity. That is what distinguishes him from the nether animals. That is what makes his person worthy of respect. That is what entitles it to be protected, to be honored, to be revered. God has enhanced the honor by putting it in the free power of man himself to improve the image. That is why our Lord is apparently indifferent to outward things. It is this image He wishes to perfect. It is the inner man He wishes to gain, the heart He wants to conquer. Once that is done in the family, the municipality, the state, the rest will follow. An act of philanthropy, however good in itself, is worthless to its author if the motive is selfish or impure. 'Blessed are the pure of heart for they shall see God.' He who is moved by the

mere appetite for glory or praise has not a pure heart.(1) The heart of its own accord is inclined to evil. It is from it that proceed 'murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies,'(2) the things that defile a man. It is the homage of the heart that Jesus wants, not of the hands or the lips. The eye is the lamp of the heart; if the eye is pure the body will be pure. No calculations can deceive Him 'who sees in secret' whether the heart is fixed on the immortal reward or the perishable hope. Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth when thou givest alms, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. And when you pray do not as the hypocrites who love to stand in the synagogues and at the corners of the streets that they may be seen by men. They seek admiration and they get it. It is their only reward. The merit of the deed in the sight of God is not measured by its greatness, but by the intention. The poor widow who gives all that she has, *ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς*, what she needs even for her support, for the worship of God, and puts it almost stealthily in the box, is more meritorious than those who give a much greater sum from their abundance and make it jingle on the plate.

Those for whom He has no mercy are the Pharisees who honor God with their lips whilst their hearts are far away,(3) who boast of their liberality and make a blowing-horn of their alms and their piety—whited sepulchres, all respectability outside but within creeping corruption.

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(1) As the crystal is purest and most resplendent when it reflects the rays of the sun, so the human heart is purest when it reflects the rays of divine love.

(2) Matt. xv, 1, 20.

(3) Matt. xvi, 8.

*Wo to you that are rich, for you have your consolation.*

*Wo to you that are filled, for you shall hunger. Wo to you that now laugh, for you shall mourn and weep.*

*Wo to you when men shall bless you; for according to these things did their fathers to the false prophets.*

*But I say to you that hear: Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you.*

*Bless them that curse you, and pray for them that calumniate you.*

*And as you would that men should do to you do you also to them in like manner.(1)*

Here we find enunciated that beautiful law of Christian charity which transcends and surpasses the most generous instincts of human nature. *There* is the sublime link of brotherhood amongst men which recognizes no distinction of class or creed, of race or nationality, but includes within its fraternal grasp those who hate us and persecute and calumniate us. What comparison can be made between this sublime bond and the 'fraternity' of revolutionaries, full of hatred and tyranny, or the 'fraternity' of socialism with its cynical indifference to the sufferings of those whom it persecutes and oppresses, its blasphemous jibes, its vulgar atheism, its advance guard of anarchists and murderers?

And just as our Lord does not consider poverty a thing to be recommended on its own account, neither does He condemn wealth as a thing bad in itself. The condition of the wealthy, when the heart is not renewed, is less favorable to the pursuit of heaven than that of poverty, for the rich are nearly always immersed in worldly thoughts, in

(1) Luke vi, 24-31.

material pursuits, in frivolous pleasures, in fashions and vanities that wither and pass away. But all the rich are not so, and Christ did not make outcasts of people simply because they were rich. On the contrary, there were several rich people amongst His friends. Lazarus, whom He raised from the dead, was a rich man, and probably a financier. This did not prevent Jesus from loving him and his family. How well that love was returned was shown when He was afterwards entertained at the house of Simon, the friend, and possibly the relative, of Lazarus:—

Mary took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of *great price*, and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped His feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the odor of the ointment.

Then one of His disciples, Judas Iscariot, he who was about to betray Him, said:

Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?

Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and, having the purse, carried the things that were put therein.

Jesus therefore said: Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of My burial.

For the poor you have always with you; but Me you have not always.(1)

Simon the Pharisee and Simon of Bethany, if they were not one and the same person, were men of means and substance, both friends and hosts of Jesus. Zachaeus of Jericho(2) was also 'a rich man and chief of the publicans,' which did not prevent Jesus from staying at

(1) John xii, 3-8; Matt. xxvi, 7-13.

(2) Luke xix, 1, 10.

his house and bringing salvation to him and his family.(1) Joanna, the wife of Chusa,(2) Herod's steward, and Susanna, were also rich people who gave Him of their substance. The Centurion of Capharnaum,(3) whose servant He healed, 'was dear to Him,' and was a wealthy man; for the Jews bore testimony that 'he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue.' Zebedee, the father of the beloved disciple, St. John, had 'hired servants,' a ship on the lake of Galilee, and a boat for Jesus when He wanted one.(4) There was a certain Pharisee named Nicodemus, (5) a ruler of the Jews, a man of position and wealth, who 'came to Jesus by night' to inquire about the kingdom of heaven. To him Jesus vouchsafed not only instruction but friendship and faith: and when he was crucified and taken down from the Cross Nicodemus came bringing a precious 'mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight,' and with these spices the body of the Redeemer was embalmed before it was 'bound in the linen cloths,' and laid in the grave. Nor were these the only rich people who loved our Lord and were loved by Him in return. On the same occasion of the burial it was Joseph, the 'rich man of Arimathea,' as he is called by St. Matthew,(6) 'a noble counsellor,' according to St. Mark,(7) 'who was himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus,' and hav-

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(1) Luke xix, 5.

(2) Luke viii, 2, 3.

(3) Matt. viii, 5, 13.

(4) Mark i, 20.

(5) John ii, 1, 21; vii, 50; xix, 39.

(6) xxvii, 57.

(7) xv, 43.



ing possessed that priceless treasure, 'he wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth and laid in in his own new monument which he had hewed out in a rock. And he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument and went his way.' (1) And as it was with Jesus so was it likewise with his Apostles and early disciples. St. Luke was a medical practitioner and a man of education and culture. Paul and Barnabas themselves belonged to the professional and ruling classes. St. Peter raises from the dead Dorcas of Joppa, (2) a rich and charitable lady, who made clothes and distributed them to the poor. When he was driven out by the Jews of Rome from the Ghetto where he first sojourned he was taken in by the wealthy family of Aquilla and Prisca on the Aventine Hill. (3)

Amongst the neophytes, friends, and powerful supporters of St. Paul at Corinth were Crispus, who had been chief of the synagogue there; Caius, who was his host on the occasion of his second visit; Stephanas and his family, towards whom he recommended the deference due to their rank; Erastus, the treasurer of the city; Tertius, Chloe, and Phoebe, all of whom rendered him and the early Church the most signal services. It was the same at Philippi, where Lydia protected him; at Antioch, where Manaben, foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, worked with him; at Athens, where he

(1) Matt. xxvii, 57-59.

(2) Acts ix, 36, 39.

(3) "Ces deux fidèles, habitant sur l'Aventin, se trouvaient hors des régions peuplées d'Israélites: leur demeure était hospitalière, leur cœur généreux, jusqu'à exposer leurs biens et leur vie pour ceux qu'ils aimaient. Ils étaient dignes d'offrir asile à Pierre quand il quitta ses compatriotes pour évangéliser la Rome païenne."—Abbé Fouard, *St Pierre et les Premières Années du Christianisme*, 463.

converted Dionysius the Areopagite; in Cyprus, where he converted Sergius Paulus, the Pro-consul; and at Malta, where he was sheltered by Publius. All these illustrious personages, whose names will live for ever in the love and gratitude of the Christian Church, were rich or at least independent; yet neither Christ nor His Apostles required of them that they should part with all their goods, too thankful only for the zeal and generosity which they displayed as the willing servants of God and of the poor, the benefactors of the Church and its messengers.(1)

But if our Lord recognizes social inequalities there is no doubt that His teaching makes for substantial equality in the body social as in the body politic. We are all children of the same Father. We are all guaranteed our daily bread. When we are commanded to ask for it the answer cannot be doubtful. One day when Jesus and His disciples were passing by a cornfield some of those who were hungry began to shell the ears of the corn in order to get some food. The Pharisees were shocked, and asked was it lawful to do this on the Sabbath day. Our Lord turned to them and said:

Have you not read what David did when he was hungry, and they that were with him? How he entered into the house of God and did eat the loaves of proposition which it was not lawful for him to eat, nor for those who were with him, but for the priests only . . . If you knew what this meaneth, *I will have mercy rather than sacrifice*, you would not have condemned the inno-

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(1) See the two Epistles to the Corinthians and Acts of the Apostles, *passim*.

cent.(1) The Sabbath was made for man not man for the Sabbath.(2)

The most sacred laws must therefore give way before the primordial right of man to exist. And when he does exist his value is not measured by his rank or possessions or power, but by his readiness to do the will of the Father. This is the standard by which Jesus appraises all men. It is a new standard, startling and epoch-making, and the same for all. There could be no greater equalizer. Whoever does the will of God is His brother, and His sister, and His mother.(3) They are nearest and dearest to Him. He reverses the prevailing notions about all sorts and conditions of people. In His kingdom the first will be the last and the last first. If anyone is to be higher than the others, or to rule over others, it must be as their servants:

*You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that are greater, exercise power upon them.*

*It shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister:*

*And he that will be the first among you shall be your servant.*

*Even as the Son of Man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister.(4)*

The laborer is worthy of his hire and those who rule must see that he gets it.

He pays no heed to the prejudices and dislikes of

(1) Matt. xii, 1, 8.

(2) Luke ii, 24, 27.

(3) Mark iv, 35.

(4) Matt. xx, 25-28.

society or to the practices through which these prejudices were expressed. Many who were then outcasts have the kingdom of heaven opened to them. When Jesus tells those who accused the woman taken in adultery that he amongst them who was without sin might cast the first stone at her, they felt conscience accusing them, and began to sneak away in shame under the scrutinizing glance of Him who saw into their hearts. And when she was left alone with Him—

*Relicti sunt duo, misera et misericordia—*

He asked her was there no one left to condemn her. And she answered, 'No man, Lord.' And He said, 'Neither will I condemn thee. Go, now, and sin no more.' (1) The Samaritans were excluded from intercourse with the Jews; yet our Lord asks a Samaritan woman to give Him to drink, and revealed Himself to her, and in spite of her crimes overwhelms her with His grace. (2) The good Samaritan is praised; because he applied to the wounds of his fellowman the healing balsam that he carried whilst the priest and the Levite, who looked only to the ritual and the letter of the law, went their way unheeding. Zachaeus, the publican, is boycotted by the Jews; and yet Jesus invites Himself to his table and heeds not the protests of the cliques and coteries who said He was keeping company with one who was banned. (3) A Canaanite woman approaches Him on the confines of Phœnicia and adores Him. Her daughter was tormented by the demon, and she wanted Him to cure her. She pursued Him with

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(1) John viii, 4-11.

(2) John iv, 7-20.

(3) Luke xix, 5.

such importunities that even His disciples wished Him to gratify her in order to get rid of her. The Canaanites were idolators and the Master says that it is not fit that the bread of children should be cast to the dogs. But the faith of the woman was unbounded. Nothing could overcome it. 'Yea, Lord,' she said, 'even the whelps also eat of the crumbs that fall from the master's table.'<sup>(1)</sup> Such faith could not be resisted. The barriers of race and nationality fall before it. She is sent her way rejoicing. The time has come, as He observed at the Samaritan well, when all those who worship in spirit and in truth shall be recognized as the real adorers.

As the family is the first social unit Jesus devotes particular attention to it. He strengthens the marriage bond and restores it to its primitive stringency. He lays stress on the duties of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters; and not satisfied with precept He gave to the world an example in the Holy Family of Nazareth of a perfect household, a perfect father, a still more perfect mother, and an all-perfect Son. Of the little children He takes particular care. Woe to him who scandalizes one of these little ones. It were better for him that a millstone were hung round his neck and he were cast into the sea: for they bear the image of the Eternal Father in its crystal purity impressed upon their souls.

As for the State, He simply gives us the example of obedience and respect for law as long as it moves within its own orbit, and does not invade the sanctuary of conscience. 'Thou shouldst not have any power against Me unless it were given thee from above'<sup>(2)</sup> He said to one

(1) Matt. xv, 27.

(2) John xix, 10-12.

of His judges. From above all power comes in the State as in the Church, and a strict account will be required of the manner in which it is exercised. In the spiritual order He recognizes no authority in the civil power. When He was informed that Herod meant to kill Him He told those who brought Him the news to go and tell the old fox that it was not fit that a prophet should perish elsewhere than in Jerusalem.(1)

For the whole social and political body, as well as for the individuals that compose it, the commandments of Moses are renewed. 'Thou shalt not steal.' 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods, nor his house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.'(2) For all, too, the Sermon on the Mountain traces the outlines of the conduct required by the new dispensation. But over and above all the rest there is the new commandment of universal and all-pervading force: 'A new commandment I give unto you that you love one another, that as I have loved you, so also you love one another.'(3)

If you observe all these regulations you belong to the kingdom of God and you will have done your duty to the kingdom of heaven; for the rest you can strive for your own on the kingdom of earth and have all that it is right and just you should have. But if your main pursuit in life is honor, glory, gold, power, there is a short cut to them all. Prostrate yourself before the Spirit of Evil, and they are promised to you by him. Adopt the ways of fraud, deceit, dishonesty, flattery, godless materialism and scoffing unbelief, and he will help you to get on.

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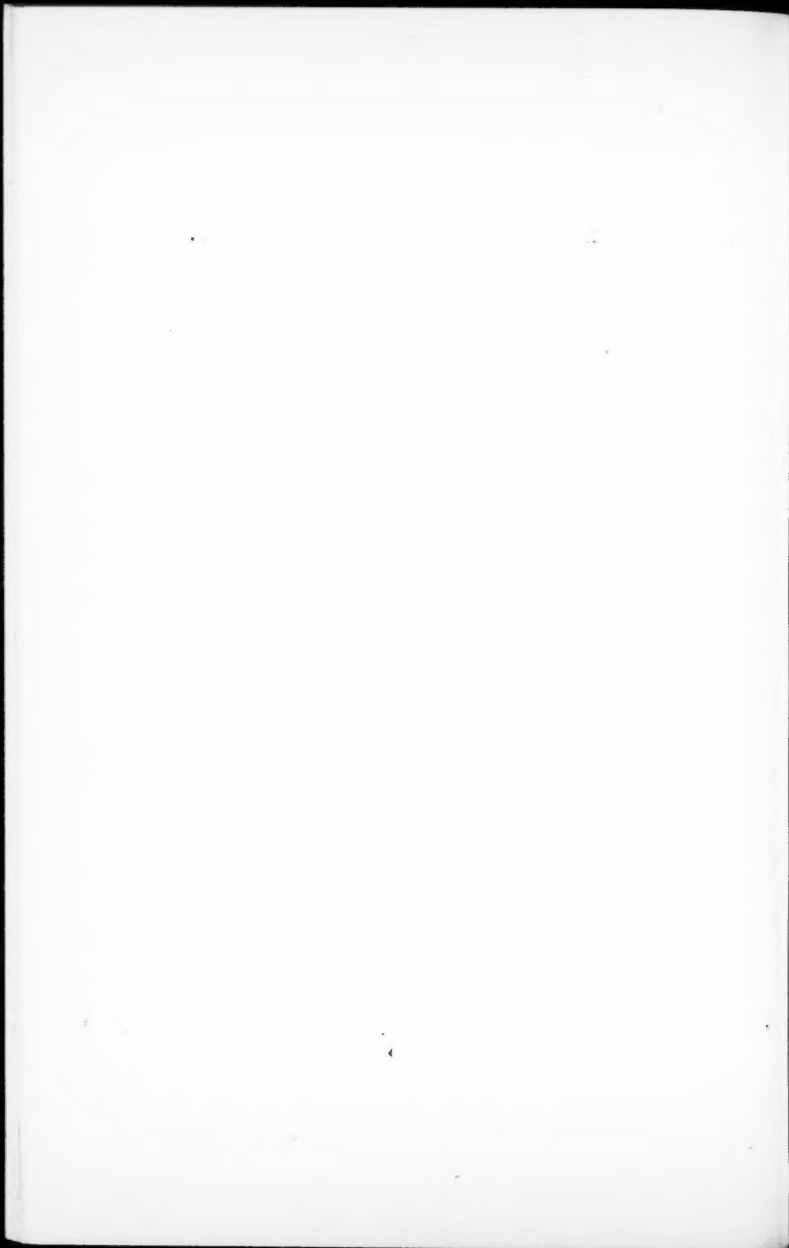
(1) Luke xiii, 31.

(2) Exod. xx, 17.

(3) John xiii, 34.

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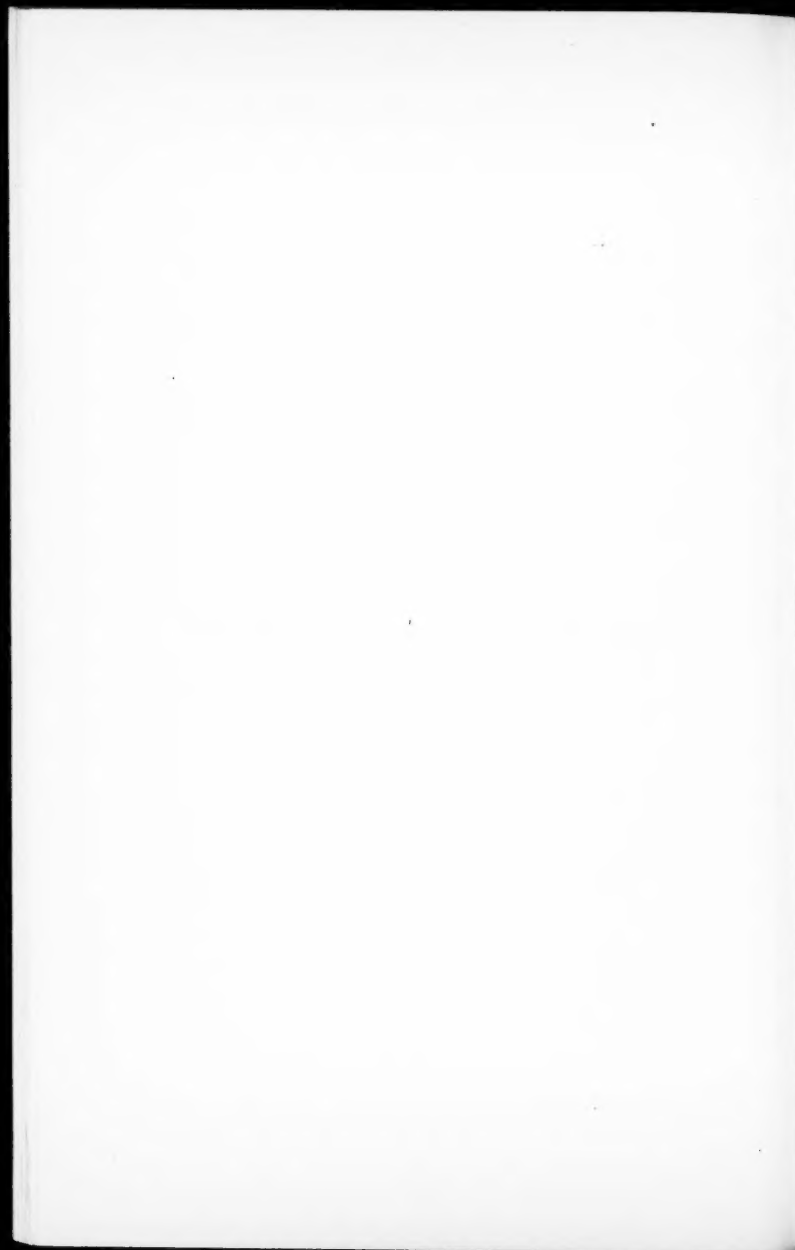
Have no scruple about ways and means, and you have the key to the world. If you prefer dignity, honor, conscience, you will have your reverses, your trials, your hours of depression and hardship; but you will also have your consolations: for angels will minister to you as they did to Him who is for you 'the way, the truth, and the life.'





# **Socialism *and* Christianity**

**II.**



## Socialism and Christianity

Article by the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D., in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, January, 1909.

### II.

There is one other feature of the social action of Jesus that requires to be mentioned. He raised up woman to a position and dignity which she had never reached since the fall of Eve, and can never reach under any other rule or dispensation whatsoever. One spotless woman(1) He associated directly with Himself in the work of redemption. The halo of her glory is reflected on her sex, and has done more to ennoble and elevate it than all the laws that have ever been written.

*Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.*

'He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things and the rich He hath sent empty away.'(2) Well may she foretell that henceforth all generations will call her blessed. No mortal tongue can tell what a beneficent social influence the thought of that humble virgin has exercised throughout the ages. After the name of the Saviour of the world there is no name associated with

(1) See *Les Femmes de la Bible*, by Mgr. Darboy. "La Sainte Vierge."

(2) Luke i, 52, 53.

humanity greater than that of Mary. No other name has won the same devotion, the same love. She was honored in the catacombs, where her effigy is found alongside that of her Divine Son. The great bishops of the early ages could find no language capable of extolling her virtues. When the Empress Helena visited Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the Holy Places, she built sanctuaries in honor of the 'Son of God' and of the Virgin Mary. The name of the daughter of David has been glorified in immortal works of human genius, in oratory, in poetry, in sculpture, in painting. Her altars are to be found in great cities, on the tops of the highest mountains and in the depths of the most lonely valleys from one end of the universe to the other. The Emperors of the East placed her image on their banners. Councils invoked her aid and light. The temple which pagan Rome had dedicated to 'all the Gods' was dedicated anew to her amidst the applause of the world. The Middle Ages called her 'our Lady,' and, mingling piety and chivalry together, recognized her as the ideal of womanly grace, beauty, and virtue. In elevating to such dignity the humble Virgin of Nazareth the Almighty has elevated womankind to a position it had never attained before and has never since attained outside of Christendom. In raising Mary he has also lifted up the class to which she belonged, the proletariat of Israel and the proletariat of the world.

Another woman, not spotless but named Mary also, was rescued from worldly occupations and sensual pleasures by the Divine Master and attached to His service by such bonds that she had the strength and privilege of following Him on the way of the Cross, and was the first to see Him after His resurrection. Her name, too, has been carried, as He foretold it would, to the ends of the earth on the

wings of the Gospel, and has been a mighty influence of restraint and repentance ever since.

Such are the principal lessons on social life that we derive from the Gospel. They are laid down on broad lines which it will be the duty of the Church, its moralists and legislators, to fill in and interpret. This is but the ferment which is to leaven the mass. It is the essence of Christianity as applied to the social world. If we find in it no specific rules as to the degree or kind of equality that should exist in given circumstances, as to a living wage, as to right to suffrage, as to proportion in which the superabundance should be shared, it supplies us with general principles with which it is easy to know whether existing conditions are in harmony or not. Our Lord did not condemn slavery in so many words, and St. Paul exhorts the slaves of his day to obey their masters as they would Christ Himself. Yet the spirit of the Gospel is opposed to slavery, even at its best, as unworthy of the dignity of man and the brotherhood of Christ. Slavery has gone down before that spirit which slowly but surely undermined and overturned it. The days are passed when crowds of human beings could be 'butchered to make a Roman holiday,' or when, as Plautus puts it, 'the hide of the dead ox was used to excoriate the hide of the living man.'<sup>(1)</sup> Those who wish to know what was the condition of labor and the fraternity of men when Christ appeared have only to read Plautus, who spoke from experience, or Apuleius,<sup>(2)</sup> or Polybius.<sup>(3)</sup> There they will see man at the grindstone, a few shameful rags half-covering his nakedness, his skin livid and mot-

(1) *Asinaria*, i, 1, 20-23.

(2) *Metam.*, ix.

(3) *Historiae*, xxii, 11.

tled with the stripes of the whip, the mark of slavery burned into his brow, his head shaved, his feet shackled, his eyes bleared with smoke and cinders. Outside the factory they are chained, muzzled, driven like beasts of burden by a handful of insolent rich people. You see them pass in crowds in the cortège of the proud women who display their extravagant luxury in the Via Romana. You see them give themselves up to the most shameful and degrading practices to amuse their masters and their masters' mistresses. You see Pollio throw them into the pond to fatten the fish that his appetite fancied. You see Cleopatra try upon them the effects of mortal poisons. You see monsters in the shape of Roman emperors, thirsting for blood and excitement, force them to butcher one another in the great amphitheatre. When we remember that millions of men were thus treated by their fellow-men our indignation and horror are great. But who was it that changed all that? Who was it that leavened mankind with the spirit which was not to rest satisfied until it had rooted out from the nations which it had won the last vestige of slavery? The doom of the degrading system was sealed on the day when Christ proclaimed the brotherhood of men and issued the new commandment of universal love, which was afterwards well and duly sealed with the blood of Calvary.

But if slavery in the technical sense is gone, there is no doubt that there are remnants of it still disguised, and sometimes scarcely disguised, remaining. The spirit of the Gospel is just as much opposed to anything there is of harshness, of injustice, of oppression in the conditions of modern life as it was to the existence of slavery. If capitalism tends to crush and degrade the human person, in so far as it does so it is no more of a dogma and de-

serves just as little consideration as slavery. The heaven of the Gospel will ferment against it also and drive it out as it drove the thong and the shackles.

The earth and all that it produces has been given to man for his nourishment and subsistence. God is the supreme Lord and Master of all things; but He has granted the possession and use of the earth and the fruits of the earth to men. It is not His will, however, as Leo XIII points out,(1) that they should be enjoyed in promiscuous confusion. It is in the interests of all that the earth should be divided and left to the industrious cultivation of a certain number. It is in this way the best results are drawn from it. The equality of men in the providential order is the equality of origin, equality of destiny, equality of redemption in the blood of Jesus Christ, not the equality of possession of material things. The possession of material things is left to the natural laws of human industry and social necessities. And there is nothing social order requires so much as respect for private property, whether movable or immovable. Peace, order, prosperity would be impossible without it. It is the natural desire of man to possess, and it is in the interests of society that he should possess, according to his industry and his talents. It is a necessity of his position as the head of a family to provide for his children. It is in the nature of things that community of possession leads either to negligent cultivation or to interminable disputes. Where have we ever seen things owned in common, outside of communities bound by vows, that friction and contention were not the order of the day? Even two brothers can seldom work a farm in peace. Idleness or neglect on one side, recrimination on the other, lawsuits,

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(1) *Rerum Novarum*.

wrangling, confusion. If, then, the members of the same family will not agree, how can a vast community be expected either to agree or to develop in common the ground on which they live? Nature, therefore, wisely allows, and authorizes if it does not command, the division and distribution of the earth's surface; and the possession which nature authorizes the law of the Gospel sanctions. This possession is subject to the supreme dominion of the Creator, who, in a general way, gave the earth and its fruits to the human race for its nourishment and support: but apart from that right, which must of course have human interpreters, it is intangible and indefeasible. There is nothing either in the Old or the New Testament to question it, or set it aside. Every word that bears on it serves, on the contrary, to confirm and strengthen it. The earth and its fruits are meant for the sustenance of the human race. They belong to all men in the abstract, and *in potentia*. All men are entitled to their sustenance from the eternal bounty. But the best means of securing this is not that all things should be owned in common, as the socialists demand. There are some more capable than others of making them productive and useful, and to these the use of them is given in the concrete and *in actu*. It is the interests of all that they should hold them with a strict right of possession as long as they carry out the intention of the supreme Lord and Master of all that exists or can exist.

But what is this wonderful argument in favor of communism or socialism (for there is very little difference between the two) drawn from the teaching or the practice of the early Christians? It has, in the first place, to be borne in mind that the practice of community of goods was confined to the Church of Jerusalem. It is not found



elsewhere. Neither at Ephesus, nor at Antioch, nor at Corinth, nor at Rome, is there any trace of it. And at Jerusalem it was perfectly voluntary. There was nothing whatever to oblige anyone to divest himself of his worldly goods in order to be baptized and be a member of the Christian community there. There is, as far as I know, nothing whatever to prevent socialists at the present day from putting their goods in common in a similar manner, provided they do not seek to compel others to follow their example. The compulsion of others, however, seems a much more characteristic feature of their programme than any self-denying ordinance of their own.

But at all events, what are their arguments?

I. Soon after Jesus ascended into heaven the Holy Ghost was sent upon His Apostles, who went about speaking to all the strangers and foreigners in tongues they had never learned. The people were stricken with astonishment at the prodigy, as well they might. In one day three thousand souls were added to the little band of Christians. St. Peter, their leader and chief, addressed them in eloquent words in which he recalled the prophecies of Joel and of David, and reproached them with having crucified their Lord and Christ. He called upon them to do penance and exhorted them to separate themselves from a perverse generation. Under the spell of the eloquence of St. Peter, as well as of the miraculous event they had just witnessed, the neophytes were baptized. I must let the sacred writer describe what followed(1):

*And they were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of bread and in prayers.*

(1) Acts ii, 42-47.

*And fear came upon every soul: many wonders also and signs were done by the Apostles in Jerusalem, and there was great fear in all.*

*And all they that believed were together, and had all things common.*

*Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all, according as everyone had need.*

*And continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart;*

*. Praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord increased daily together such as should be saved.*

Futher on we read(1):

*And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul: neither did anyone say that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but all things were common unto them.*

*And with great power did the Apostles give testimony of the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord; and great grace was in them all.*

*For neither was there anyone needy among them: for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold.*

*And laid it down before the feet of the Apostles. And distribution was made to everyone, according as he had need.*

*And Joseph, who by the Apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is by interpretation, the son of consolation), a Levite, a Cyprian born,*

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(1) Acts iv, 32-35.

*Having land, sold it, and brought the price, and laid it at the feet of the Apostles.*

St. James in his Epistle, addressed in all probability to the same people of Jerusalem amongst whom the Christian had all things in common, said(1):

*Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you.*

*Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth eaten.*

*Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire . . .*

*Behold the hire of the laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth: and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*

*You have feasted upon earth, and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts in the day of slaughter.*

*You have condemned and put to death the just one, and he resisted you not.*

*Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, patiently bearing till he receive the early and the later rain.*

*Be you therefore also patient, and strengthen your hearts; for the coming of the Lord is at hand.*

II. St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians,(2) says:

*And we charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every*

(1) James v, 1-8.

(2) 2 Thess. iii, 6-15.

*brother walking disorderly and not according to the tradition which they have received of us.*

*For yourselves know how you ought to imitate us: for we were not disorderly among you;*

*Neither did we eat any man's bread for nothing, but in labor and in toil we worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you.*

*Not as if we had not power, but that we might give ourselves a pattern unto you to imitate us.*

*For also when we were with you this we declared to you; that, if any man will not work neither let him eat.*

*For we have heard there are some among you who walk disorderly, working not at all, but curiously meddling.*

*Now we charge them that are such, and beseech them by the Lord Jesus Christ, that, working with silence, they would eat their own bread.*

*But you, brethren, be not weary in well-doing, and if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed:*

*Yet do not esteem him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.*

In his first Epistle to the same people he had said (1) :

*But we entreat you, brethren, that you abound more:*

*And that you endeavor to be quiet, and that you do your own business, and work with your own hands, as we commanded you: and that you walk honestly towards them that are without; and that you want nothing of any man's.*

III. Finally, St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, (2) says :

(1) 1 Thess. iv, 10, 11.

(2) 2 Cor. viii, 9, 13, 14.

*For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich He became poor, for your sakes; that through His poverty you might be rich.*

*For I mean not that others should be eased and you burdened, but by an equality.*

*In this present time let your abundance supply their want, and their abundance also may supply your want, that there may be an equality.*

I. Now it is quite clear even from the passages quoted that there was not the slightest compulsion put upon the Christians of Jerusalem to part with their goods. They did it of their own free will. They first sold their lands or houses or personal possessions, thereby establishing their right to them, and then of their own free will put the price of them in the common stock. Many of them, at all events, did this; but there may have been and must have been exceptions. It was not obligatory. That their contribution was a free gift is clear also from the story of Ananias and Saphira. This pair were hankering after the Christian life. They had seen the wonderful things done and were afraid like the rest. They admired the devotion of the Christians to one another, and wished to have a share in their happiness. They knew that those who contributed all they possessed were maintained at the expense of the body. So they sold what they had, concealed part of the price, and brought the remainder to the feet of the Apostles, pretending that they were bringing the whole. They wished to have a foot in both kingdoms, to serve God and Mammon. They made a profession of perfection whilst they still clung to the world. St. Peter saw through their device, and made an example of them

before the assembled brethren. It was the fraud he punished, the lie to the Holy Ghost. For he says to Ananias :

*Whilst it remained did it not remain to thee? And after it was sold was it not still in thy power?* (1)

In other words, there was nothing to compel him to sell his property at all, and when he did sell it there was nothing to compel him to part with the price of it. But when he came pretending that he was giving the whole price whilst in reality he had a good share of it in his pocket he was lying to the Holy Ghost. For this he paid a penalty which was intended as a lesson for all future time, although as one of the Fathers puts it he only in all probability forfeited the life of the body, not the life of the soul.

Neither in any of the texts quoted nor anywhere else in Scripture is there anything to suggest that the offering to the common chest was not purely voluntary. There is, on the contrary, everything to suggest that its merit came from its spontaneity and from the desire under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost to conform to the highest counsels of the Master. Even in the terrible text of St. James against the rich it is the fraud by which wealth is so often acquired that calls for his severest denunciations. The fraud of the usurer, the fraud of the heartless employer, the sweating task-master, the dishonest merchant, the corrupt official. With these he associates the riotous liver, the *bon viveur*, the whole tribe of dudes and swells, of dissolute and worthless dawdlers, of sensual and corrupt and material men and women, who have unbridled passions and money to gratify them. At what period of her history did not the Church of Christ

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(1) Acts v, 4.

and her ministers repeat against such as these the denunciations of St. James?

II. The words of St. Paul in the passage that I have quoted above on which the socialists chiefly base their arguments are: 'If any man will not work neither let him eat.' There is, of course, a sense in which that saying is of universal application, and includes the rich as well as the poor; but I have quoted a considerable part of the context in order that the reader might see what St. Paul had here directly in his mind. There was a young Church growing up in Macedonia under the fostering care of Luke, of Timothy, of Silas and of Paul himself. Thessalonica, one of its principal towns, was famous for its maritime traffic and for its manufactures. Woolen, carpets, and all sorts of cloths and stuffs were made here on a large scale. It was a hive of industry. St. Paul and his companions made a rich harvest in the ranks of the proletariat of the place. Amongst some of these there was a tendency to idleness and a disposition to sponge on the charitable generosity of the community. In order to give them an example St. Paul himself worked night and day at the trade of a weaver at the house of Jason, with whom he lodged. He would not be chargeable to anyone, though entitled to his support, to show them that manliness and independence, 'wanting nothing of any man's,' were marks of the faith. This was effective whilst St. Paul was there: but when he was driven out by the intrigues and plots of the Jews, they relapsed to their original tendency. Many of them were by nature loafers and idlers who went about disturbing the peace of the community, carrying stories, exciting jealousy and envy, and 'working not at all.' They were also disorderly fellows whose lives were not edifying. They made a pretext

for their idleness of what they understood or misunderstood as the teaching of St. Paul about the end of the world. They were probably socialists in their way, and thought the rich were not doing enough and should be compelled to share.

This is the fraternity which St. Paul asks his brethren to shun. It is of these he says: 'If a man will not work neither let him eat.' He tells the faithful to give them nothing, but let them earn their bread like honest men. They should avoid them in order to make them ashamed of themselves. Yet they should not treat them as enemies but admonish them as brothers. I do not quite see what consolation there is in all that for the socialist unless he is willing to come to be admonished. Not that all socialists are poor by any means. There are many rich men amongst them who subsidize newspapers and associations, and encourage strikes and social turmoil, so as to depreciate stocks and shares on which they have a covetous eye. \*When these go down they buy, and when the storm passes and the shares go up they sell. They raise and calm the storm as they please, and find socialist principles most lucrative. The artisans and laborers who are their tools do not see what is going on behind the scenes. They are the dupes of sharpers who are a much greater nuisance than the loafers of Salonika, worse even than Ananias and Saphira; for whilst they make a pretence of wishing to bring all property and capital into a common or collective store, their real object is to augment their own. (1)

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(1) "Quand la baisse est au *maximum* les financiers qui sont derrière toutes les agitations socialistes achètent à vil prix; puis ils font rentrer les meneurs en leur payant le salaire du crime. Le travail reprend: les actions remontent; les spécula-



III. The socialists will fare no better in their arguments from St. Paul about equality *ut fiat aequalitas*. Nothing could well be farther from St. Paul's mind than the sort of equality they claim. What were the circumstances in which he used the expression? The Christians of Jerusalem were very poor and in great distress. The experiment of community of goods does not seem to have been a great success with them. Whether it was that *quae communiter possidentur communiter dissipantur*, or that the great majority of the collective body had very little indeed to bring into the common store, the fact was that they were almost starving. St. Paul makes an urgent appeal on their behalf to the charity of the Corinthians. He had already made a similar and most successful appeal for them to the Macedonians and Achaeans. He takes good care to tell them that it is to their *charity* he is appealing. From the very start he says, 'I speak not as commanding.'(1) But as they became rich in grace through the poverty of Christ, so they might become rich through the prayers and merits of His poor. 'He who soweth in blessings shall reap blessings.'(2) 'And he that ministereth seed to the sower will both give you bread to eat and will multiply your seed, and increase the growth of the fruits of your justice.' In other words, in return for their charity they will receive both temporal

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teurs revendent à la hausse ce qu'ils ont acheté pour rien: le tour est joué. Les ouvriers plus meurtris, plus courbés, plus affamés, reprennent le licou dans les usines à demi ruinées: le socialiste ajoute un domestique à son personnel et quelques titres de rente à sa réserve." Pierre Bietry in *Le Socialisme des Jaunes*, p. 17.

(1) 2 Cor. viii, 8.

(2) Ibid. ix, 6.

and spiritual blessings. And thus there will be an equality between them and the poor.

*Let your abundance supply their want, that their abundance may also supply your want, that there may be an equality.*

What was the abundance of the Corinthians? Wealth, comfort, worldly possessions, at least more than they needed. What was the abundance of the poor of Jerusalem? Poverty, resignation, grace, prayer, faith, charity, merit. It is between these the exchange is to be made. *Ut fiat acqualitas*. The socialists are welcome at any time to that equality; but let them not look for any other in the words of St. Paul; and let them not quote St. Paul as 'commanding' or requiring even that much, but as appealing for it in charity.

The equality that Christ established is the equality of title to a share in the sacrifice of Calvary on the conditions He laid down, the equality of children of the same family, some getting more and some less according to their talents, their merits, and their aptitudes, according to the father's will and judgment of what is best for all. None are left to perish. Even the lepers and plague-stricken must not be abandoned. Even the idlers and the spendthrifts and the wayward are to be treated with gentleness and humanity. I doubt if they would fare as well in the socialist state. It is not long since I read in a speech of Mr. Grayson that if men would not work he would send them to the lethal chamber as readily as a useless horse. I should not be surprised if, when Christianity and Christian ideas are rooted out, as we are assured they must be, in certain States, we shall not hear

much more of the lethal chamber. It will be once again the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the guillotine or the knife. Evolution, we are told, is making in that direction. Nietzsche, who has come into vogue so much in recent times with hypocrites who call themselves Christians, carries the evolution principles to their full conclusion in his social philosophy:—

The religion of pity [he says] has the immense inconvenience of prolonging a vast number of useless existences, of lives condemned by the law of selection. It preserves and multiplies misery in the world. It is a standing menace to the moral health of the finest types of humanity. The sight of misery, of suffering, of deformity, of ugliness, is the worst danger in the path of progress to the higher type. Christianity and the religion of pity have contributed most efficaciously to the degradation of the European race, and have retarded the production of superior types, the evolution of humanity towards the superman.(1)

It is in the same sense that Mr. Bernard Shaw, another superman and socialist to boot, tells us that, 'Those who minister to poverty and disease are accomplices in the two worst of all the crimes.'(2)

Herbert Spencer also observes(2) that the maintenance of the sick in hospitals, and of tramps and vagrants in asylums, of all those who consume without producing, diminishes the quantity of things suitable for distribution in proportion to the number of the useless. The poverty of the incapable, the penury of the idle, the trampling of the weak by the strong, are, he thinks, in reality de-

(1) *La Philosophie de Nietzsche*, by Henri Lichtenberger, iv.  
41.

(2) *Man and Superman*. The Revolutionist's Handbook, p. 240

crees of an immense benevolence and foresight. I know that in the socialist utopia men like Bellamy would regard the sick as the invalid brothers and sisters of the strong, and treat them accordingly; but both the civilized world and the sick have, with good reason, more confidence in the religion of compassion and mercy, in the charity of Christianity, than they are ever likely to have in the professions of pagan philosophy whether old or new.

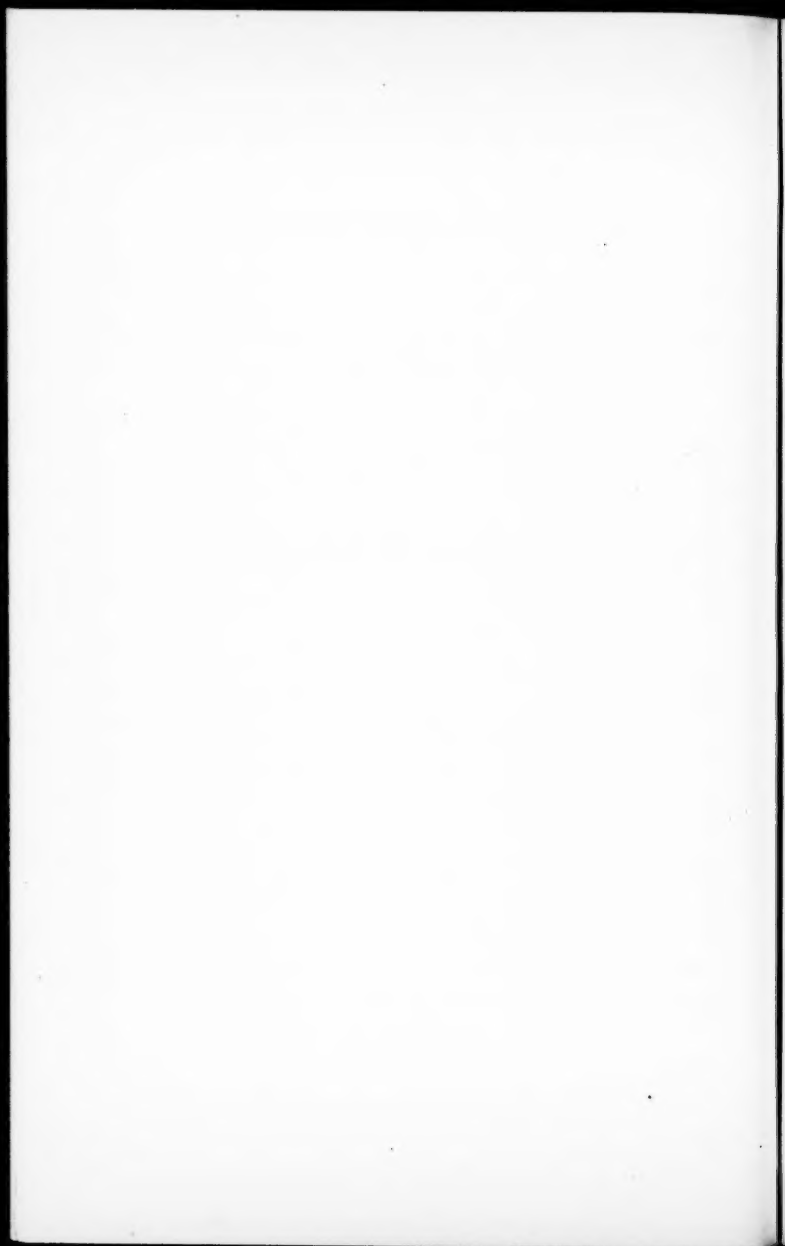
I must reserve what I have to say about the Fathers of the Church for another paper.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

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(1) *Evolution and Morality*, xii, 179; also, *The Man versus the State*, iii.

# **THE KULTURKAMPF**



# THE KULTURKAMPF

## I.

### THE CHURCH IN GERMANY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.(1)

THE Church in Germany had made gigantic progress since its reorganization in the twenties; political events, however, were rapidly taking shape that profoundly affected her position. For centuries past the House of Hapsburg, with its extensive possessions, had used its power to protect Catholic interests. Many Catholics in Germany looked to it as their refuge in the hour of need. Even the freaks and vagaries of Joseph II, and the far from enthusiastic Catholicism of one or two Hapsburg bishops in the Rhenish provinces, had been unable to shake this confidence. For many years after the annexation of the Rhine country and Westphalia by Prussia, the people of these provinces made little secret of their dislike of Prussia and their sympathy with the old imperial house.

Meantime throughout the land the aspiration for German unity and the desire to restore something like the old German Empire grew apace. Men not otherwise in love with medieval thought and institutions talked and raved of Frederick Barbarossa, confined, according to the legend, in the Kyff-Häuser Mountain until the ravens would wake him up in order to restore the splendors of the German Empire. Every boy in his school days

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(1) Reprint from the *Messenger*, Feb., 1909.

learned by heart Frederick Rückert's ballad "Barbarossa" that promised the reawakening of the fatherland and the restoration of its glories. But who was to be the Barbarossa? The Austrian double eagle had gradually lost its proud position, and the Prussian bird had been soaring higher and higher. In the German confederation after 1850, Austria still held the first place, but it was a primacy of toleration, not of power. The title of German emperor had been offered to Frederick William IV by the Frankfort Parliament and declined for reasons of chivalry. At all events, the Parliament had pointed to Prussia as the future mistress of Germany. This was not without justification, for in consequence of Metternich's shortsighted policy, Austria had been more and more stripped of its German character. It had cast away the old German Netherlands and acquired but not assimilated Lombardy and Venice in Italy. It was hardly a single body politic; it was rather a compound of fragments without organic unity, without mutual sympathies and without national spirit. The German-Austrians numbered less than one-fourth of the entire population of the empire. In Germany, accordingly, while practically all sighed for unity, some, chiefly in South Germany, dreamed of the greater Germany; that is to say, the Germany including Austria and having Austria for its leading power. Others saw no advantage in a union with the heterogeneous Hapsburg fabric and shouted for a smaller Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Clearly, if anything was to be done, the sword must decide whether it was to be greater or lesser Germany, whether the Empire must be under the control of Austria or Prussia. This was the question decided by the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. It



is worth remarking that most of the smaller Protestant states allied themselves not with Prussia but with Austria. The clumsy and ill-assorted Austrian power suggested less danger to their independence than the strongly consolidated military power of the Hohenzollerns.

As we have said, the Catholics pretty generally sympathized with Austria. Still the Prussian War Minister declared that in the Austro-Prussian War the Rhenish Catholics and the Westphalians fought as valiantly for the success of their country as the Brandenburgers themselves. The result of the war of 1866 was, if possible, to strengthen the loyalty of Prussian Catholics to their sovereigns. They had nothing further to hope for from Austria; Prussia with the prestige of victory on her eagles and with the powerful arm of Bismarck to guide her fortunes was unquestionably the mistress of Germany. Even the South German states, though they formed no part of the North German confederation which was organized after the Austro-Prussian War, felt that their fortunes were tied up with the destinies of Prussia, and not long after 1866 this feeling crystallized in the rise of parties that beheld in Prussia the future defender of the fatherland. For men generally felt that the aggrandizement of Prussia had given a blow to French prestige, and a war between France and Prussia was regarded as the corollary of the Austro-Prussian War. The memory of the national war of 1813-15, following the degradation of the greater part of Germany to a French province, was still too vividly in men's memories to permit a revival of the Rheinbund, and against France German feeling was a solid unit; this in spite of the antipathy of the southern German Catholics and Prot-

estants to Prussia with her airs of superiority and her military arrogance.

The presentiment of the coming war with France, repeatedly suggested by Napoleon's demands for territorial compensations to balance Prussia's extension of power, was naturally calculated to induce Bismarck not only to avoid offending the German Catholics but to treat them with consideration. When the day of war came, he was fully aware, the Catholics must constitute two-fifths of Prussia's military strength. It was suicide to forget this and to give offense to the Catholics.

Just at this time, after the war of 1866, the question of the Vatican Council came to the forefront. The syllabus of 1864 had excited useless alarms with regard to papal political pretensions, and the men who had been loudest in stirring up these fears were now the foremost to excite new alarms in connection with the approaching Council and especially with the definition of papal infallibility. This idea seems to have become a monomania in the mind of Dr. Döllinger and many of his followers. The political standard bearer of this party was the Bavarian Prime Minister, Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, the brother of Cardinal Hohenlohe and an intimate friend of Döllinger. While the latter strove might and main to prevent the Council by a war of pamphlets and newspaper articles, the former used his political position in order to prevent the meeting of the Council. On April 9, 1869, he sent a circular note to the various European courts appealing to them to checkmate the aggressive measures which the Council was likely to adopt in the politico-religious sphere which Hohenlohe insisted was the intention of the Curia. But the circular note fell flat. It was waived aside not only

by France and Austria but also by Bismarck, who declared that he did not care whether a few thousand Prussian Catholics more or less believed in the papal infallibility. Meanwhile there was no little friction in relation to the Council. Döllinger and his party were bitterly and directly opposed to the definition of the pope's infallibility. Most of the German bishops held that the declaration of the much discussed dogma was inopportune, and this view was shared by the majority of the prominent Catholic lay representatives. The so-called Lay Council of Berlin, a private conference in which among others the Reichenspergers, Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Jörg and von Savigny took part, passed resolutions in this sense which were confidentially communicated to the meeting of the German bishops at Fulda in September, 1869. The latter by a vote of fourteen to four, while emphasizing their loyalty to Pope and Council, also pronounced against the opportuneness of the definition in view of the excited state of public opinion, especially among the educated Catholics of Germany. The Düsseldorf Congress, held at this time, expressed its entire confidence in the Pope and the coming Council. On the other hand, Döllinger, Professors Schulte, Michaelis, Friedrich and others became more and more violent in their opposition to the definition of papal infallibility. Bismarck during the session of the Council, while unfavorable to the definition, repeatedly instructed the Prussian envoy, von Arnim, in the sense of non-interference. At last, notwithstanding the efforts of the minority, which included most of the German bishops, the dogma was defined.

On their return the German bishops loyally accepted the action of the Council. Not so Döllinger and his

friends, consisting mostly of theological and other professors at the German universities. The latter, under the leadership of Professor Schulte, Professors Michaelis, Friedrich and others, organized as the Old Catholic Church and chose Professor Reinkens, of Breslau, as bishop (July 4, 1873). Döllinger, however, though he remained firm in his opposition to the dogma, not only declined to join the Old Catholic Church but warned his friends against its establishment. Reinkens was consecrated bishop by the Jansenist bishop Heidekamp of Deventer in Holland, August 11, 1873. The Old Catholics now proceeded to organize congregations and in this received general support from the German Government. Churches were turned over to them wholly or in part, salaries paid to their priests, and their theological professors were recognized in the universities. But notwithstanding this governmental patronage, the movement proved a failure. In 1878, when the new denomination was numerically the strongest, the Old Catholics themselves claimed only about fifty priests and not more than fifty thousand adherents.

While the Vatican Council was holding its sessions in Rome, in 1870, the Franco-German War broke out, the result of which was the proclamation of the new German Empire, on January 18, 1871, at Versailles, and the subsequent adoption of a constitution. This important event placed the new German Chancellor, Prince von Bismarck, face to face with many serious problems. To restore the unity of Germany even in a federal form was no doubt a mighty achievement, but it was a no less difficult undertaking to weld this compound of many states with various dialects, and with populations differing in temperament, interests and religion, into one organic body. Bismarck

was not unconscious of the great obstacles to a solid lasting union. The wonderful success of the German arms and the powerful personality of Bismarck himself unquestionably tended to act as a cement for the new imperial fabric. But to a man reared as Bismarck was in old Prussian traditions, who had seen Frederick William III attempt consolidation of his kingdom by the forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, the religious division of the new empire must have appeared a most undesirable fact. Germany, at that time, as to-day, consisted of a population of which about two-fifths were Catholics and three-fifths Protestants. In forming a judgment of the great struggle known under the name of the Kulturkampf, which must now claim our attention, it is well to bear in mind these facts.

We have already seen that the foundation of the *National-Verein* and the *Protestanten-Verein*, as well as the heated hostile discussion of the syllabus of 1864, betokened and emphasized an unfriendly spirit on the part of the German Protestant mind against Catholicism and its principles. This hostility and bitterness were intensified by the denunciation and charges of Döllinger and his friends against the Roman Curia, the Jesuits and the Ultramontanes in general, and their prophecies of the mischief and danger to be feared from the coming Council in Rome. This agitation and denunciation gradually inflamed the minds of the non-Catholic masses, taught from their birth to look with suspicion and dislike on all things Catholic. Even before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the fruits of this painful agitation began to appear. In August, 1869, the opening of an orphan asylum and the dedication of a chapel under the charge of two Dominicans at Moabit, a suburb of Berlin,

led to repeated riots and threatened attacks on the institution. The journals raised a violent outcry and demanded the immediate suppression of all convents and monasteries. Most significant of all, Professor Gneist, of the university, placed himself at the head of the movement. The government, however, and even the National Liberals, were too wary to engage in this campaign of intolerance on the eve of a war in which the Catholics must furnish a large quota of the combatants.

These evidences of anti-Catholic intolerance did not affect the patriotism of the German Catholics. During the war, which broke out the following year, the German Catholics, lay and clergy, gave vigorous proofs of their attachment to king and country. When the first victories had been won, so little did the hierarchy dream of the conflict which awaited the faithful that Bishop von Ketteler, of Mainz, in a letter of October 10, 1870, addressed to Prince Bismarck, urged the insertion into the organic law of the new empire of the article on the relation of church and state contained in the Prussian constitution. Even much later, some Catholic leaders seemed to have imagined that new Germany would use its influence in behalf of a restoration of the temporal power of the pope, and this in the face of the fact that immediately after the conclusion of the war the victory was hailed almost unanimously by the non-Catholic press as the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism. The more wary Catholic leaders, however, began to scent the approaching storm.

In the Prussian Diet of 1852, the Catholic members had combined to form a group called the *Catholic Fraction*, which numbered 61 members out of 433. The peaceful condition of affairs under Frederick William IV and

during the first period of the reign of William I, together with other considerations, chiefly political, caused the maintenance of this separate group to seem unnecessary. In 1863-65 it had dwindled to twenty-seven members, and in 1866-67 to fifteen members, and in 1867 it ceased to exist. The clearly hostile atmosphere which began to be felt at the end of the Franco-German War suggested to some of the leading Catholic representatives in 1870 the need of gathering the strength of the Catholic people in defense of their rights. But these men, clear-headed and far-sighted as they were, proceeded warily and prudently. When at a banquet given by the distinguished jurist and statesman von Savigny in September, 1870, Canon Müller raised the question of reviving the old Catholic Fraction, the members of the Prussian Diet present, among whom we may mention the two Reichenspergers, Mallinckrodt and Windthorst, unanimously discouraged the scheme. Peter Reichensperger declared that the revival of the Catholic Fraction under that name would be a genuine misfortune for the Catholic cause. Nevertheless, a few weeks later, on December 11, 1870, the majority of the Catholic members of the Prussian Diet met again and organized a political party with a carefully prepared political program including the defense of the just rights of all recognized religious denominations; of denominational schools and Christian marriage; declaring in favor of German unity on a federal basis and of home rule; demanding economy in public expenses and the just rights of capital and labor; liberty for all legal efforts to solve the social problem and the removal of all abuses threatening the moral and physical welfare of the workmen. Forty-eight representatives gave in their adherence to this program; in the course of

the session the number grew to fifty-four. Windthorst was not one of the original members of the Centre as he feared that his former connection with King George of Hanover might bring on the new-born party the charge of disloyalty. While the strictly political character of the new organization was insisted upon, and while non-Catholic gentlemen were cordially invited to enroll in its ranks, as in fact was done subsequently, the meeting at the same time resolved to found a new political journal devoted to the maintenance of the principles of the party. To emphasize the political character of the new organization it took the name of "the Centre," omitting the word Catholic; the journal was called the *Germania*. How wisely the founders of the party acted in this particular is evidenced by the many venomous attacks made upon it on the ground that as a religious organization it had no right to sit in such purely political bodies as the State Diet and the Reichstag, a charge that was indignantly hurled back by every leader of the Centre, including Bishop von Ketteler of Mainz.

The Catholics had not set their house in order one moment too soon. When the first Reichstag met on March 21, 1871, the feelings of the majority of that body toward their Catholic fellow-citizens and their church became manifest at once. The answer to the Emperor's address contained in slightly veiled language an assurance of non-intervention to the Italian Government, which had shortly before seized the temporal dominions of the church. Neither appeal nor protest succeeded in removing this offensive passage. A few weeks later the proposal of the Catholic members to insert in the new constitution of the Empire the articles of the Prussian fundamental law guaranteeing freedom of worship to all



denominations was rejected by a great majority, whose mouthpieces delighted in heaping abuse and insult on the Church of Rome.

On July 8, 1871, William I signed a decree abolishing the Catholic section in the Ministry of Worship established in 1841 by Frederick William IV for the purpose of placing before the Minister Catholic views and principles on proposed laws affecting the rights and interests of Catholics. But worse was to come. The Bavarian ministry, of which the guiding spirit was Minister von Lutz, had for some time held their portfolios in the face of a Catholic majority and done their utmost to injure the rights of the Catholics in the schools and elsewhere. Lutz's hands were bound by the patriot or Catholic majority, so the Bavarian lion, to use Windthorst's words, sought refuge under the wings of the Prussian eagle. Through Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe he brought in the famous pulpit paragraph, an amendment to the German criminal code which exposed clergymen who uttered language that seemed disrespectful to the constitution of the Empire and of its several states, or discussed the marriage question in a manner likely to disturb the public peace, whether in the pulpit or on the platform, to the penalty of two years' imprisonment. Bismarck championed this law in the *Bundesrath* (federal council), and after a heated debate, in which the representatives of the liberal unionists assailed the Catholic clergy with bitter charges without any proof, the futile piece of legislation was voted by the majority of about two to one, November 28, 1871.

The last law devised and passed by the first Reichstag in its solicitude for the safety and welfare of the Empire was the law excluding from Germany the Jesuits, Re-

demptorists and all similar orders. These Religious Orders had done nothing wicked or dangerous to the new Empire. During the Franco-German War some forty or more Jesuit Fathers had acted as army chaplains and nurses, and several of them had received the Iron Cross from the Emperor as a reward for their courage and devotion. William I had even taken occasion to praise their patriotic behavior. But during the year 1870-71 Blüntschli's Protestant Union, the meeting of Old Catholics at Munich and a certain number of Catholics of the Lutz and Hohenlohe type had carried on a crusade against the Order, charging its members with being conspirators against the state and declaring them a danger against the body politic. Proofs of these venomous charges were not forthcoming, but petitions repeating them in every key and with endless variations were poured into the Reichstag. But every anti-Jesuit petition was met by several pro-Jesuit appeals which balanced abuse by eulogy. All these memorials were referred to a committee of which Professor Gneist was the chairman. As might be expected, on May 15 Gneist reported a resolution calling on the Bundesrath to draw up and report a law to save the fatherland by expelling the Jesuits. The session was far advanced, almost in its death throes, but this matter brooked no delay. A bill was hastily drawn up, rushed through the Bundesrath, and passed on June 19, 1872. Nearly all of the Catholic champions appeared in the arena on this occasion, but neither their eloquent words nor the warnings of the Jew Lasker or the Socialist Bebel produced any effect on the Solons of the first German Reichstag.

The pulpit paragraph and the anti-Jesuit law had inaugurated the attack on Catholicity in Germany, but the

Kulturkampf proper is usually dated from the so-called May laws of the Minister v. Falk; in fact, the word Kulturkampf itself, or struggle for civilization, was not coined until January 17, 1873, when, in the discussion of the May Laws, Prof. Virchow first used the term. By this word Virchow meant to convey the idea that the struggle was a fight for civilization on the part of Bismarck and his friends. An absurd notion! It was a struggle between two civilizations, the civilization on the one hand of state omnipotence, or Cæsaro-Papism, of materialism, of capitalistic supremacy; and on the other hand the civilization which, while giving to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, gives to God what is God's, the civilization which champions the rights of conscience and of religious liberty such as we understand it in the United States, according privileges to no denomination and ostracizing no creed, the civilization which does not reserve the favors of the state for the capitalist and the captain of industry, but claims for the workman the protection of the state against the oppression of the factory lord. Besides it is to be remarked that whereas the two laws already mentioned were enacted by the German Reichstag, the Kulturkampf was a specifically Prussian product, and these anti-Catholic laws were moved and passed in the Prussian Legislature.

The question here suggests itself, what was the cause and purpose of this deadly assault on the Catholic Church in Germany? There is no doubt that the person responsible for the movement was Prince Bismarck; but for his initiative and support it is practically inconceivable. What motives he had in beginning this conflict is another question. Bismarck was not a religious fanatic of the sixteenth century type; indeed, his positive religious con-

victions were of a very vague character. No doubt enmity to Catholicism was a part of his religious baggage, but as we have seen he was fully capable of controlling his feelings in this direction, and when in 1878 political considerations suggested a change of religious policy, neither religious rancor nor personal pride prevented his casting aside, one by one, the measures he had proclaimed to be the essence of his politico-religious statecraft. The German Chancellor himself at different times assigned various reasons for his embarking upon his crusade against the church. At one time it was the foundation of the Centre party, at another it was fear of the Poles, and again the definition of papal infallibility, of which he had himself declared that it was a matter of no great political importance. Men well acquainted with his incapacity to check his personal dislikes saw in his bitter hatred of Windthorst and von Savigny the origin of his anti-Catholic policy. Granting all that is said of his irreconcilable rancor, the cause seems to be disproportioned to the effect. To gain over the Emperor William to this policy he must have used far different arguments. The statement of the conditions such as they existed in '71-72 may throw much light on the problem.

The bitterest enemies of Catholicity at the time were the so-called National Liberals. They were for the most part doctrinaires, partly professors in the university and journalists, many of whose political and irreligious dogmas had been condemned by the Church, partly capitalists and industrialists who felt that the Christian doctrine of charity could not be reconciled with their plans and their interests. The National Liberals were the most powerful political party in the first German Parliament. With the Conservatives they made a strong majority.

Bismarck adopted their economical views and they urged on him their anti-Catholic program, the aim of which was to paralyze the power of the Church, and especially of the pope, in Germany. To Bismarck, the scheme of uniting Germany as far as possible under the same religious banner no doubt seemed most desirable. Nor was precedent wanting which appeared to make such a scheme seem practicable. Had not the Emperor's father combined his Lutheran and Reformed subjects in the Evangelical Church? Besides, did not conditions seem favorable to such an experiment? The failure of the Old Catholic schism had not yet been demonstrated. The Vatican Council appeared to have caused much dissatisfaction. Might it not be possible, with the aid of government laws and threats and patronage, if not to break down the independence of the Church at least to render it subservient to the state? Gallicanism had almost accomplished this in France, and Febronianism in Germany. Why should not Bismarck attempt what the French and Austrian statesmen, so much less shrewd and powerful, had almost succeeded in accomplishing? Our readers will find that the so-called May Laws were only nineteenth century editions of the laws of Joseph II. Their purpose was to subject the Catholic Church to state control. It is most natural to assume that Bismarck's laws, the same in substance, had the same aim.

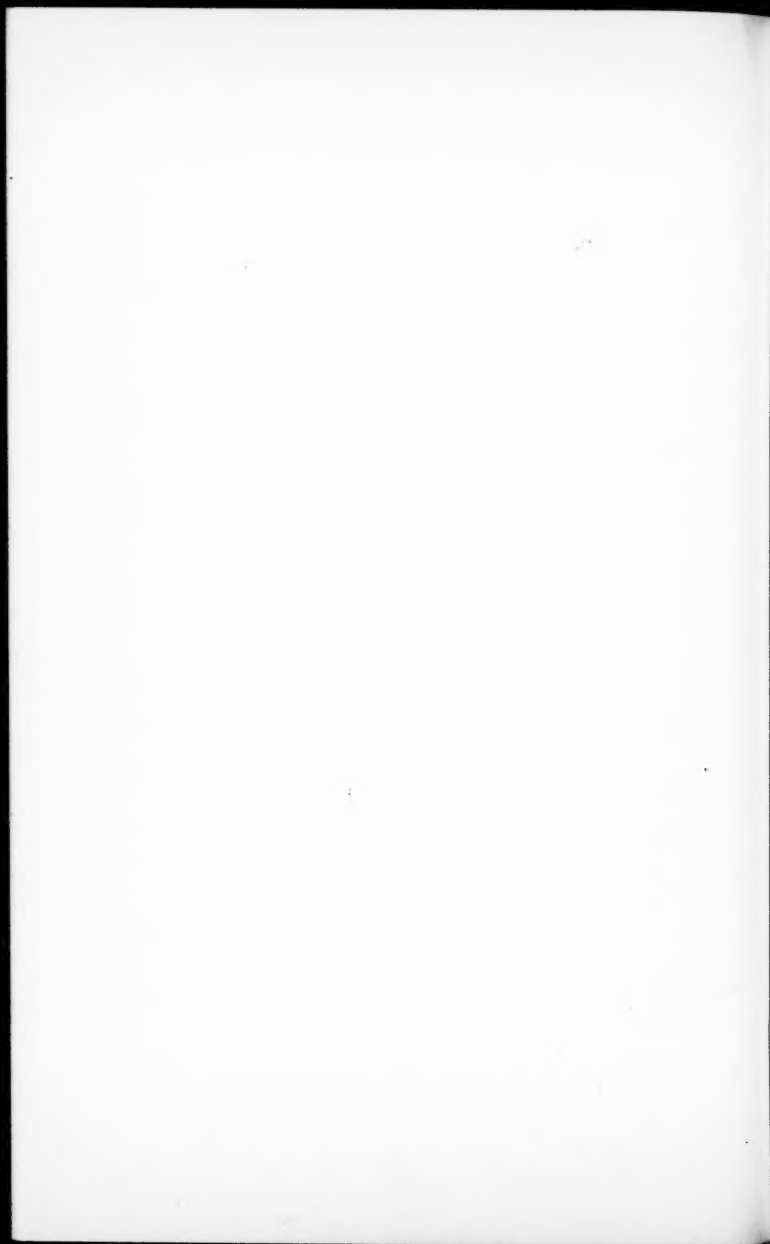
Bismarck's views of the imperial interests, therefore, favored the same policy which the National Liberals advocated as a matter of doctrine and of personal interest. Their influence was weaker than Bismarck's, but their animus was more venomous. When, in 1878, the partnership was dissolved, Bismarck not only ceased to tear down, but to a certain extent began to rebuild; the

National Liberals, however, animated with a modern variety of the odium theologicum, never ceased by their fanatical intolerance to make a mockery of their party name.

The May Laws, as we have said, were a nineteenth century edition of the Josephist laws. Why then did the subjects of Joseph II at the end of the eighteenth century accept the dose which Catholic Germany in the nineteenth century rejected with violent disgust? It may be said, by way of explanation, that in one case the prescribing doctor was a Catholic, and in the other a Protestant. Perhaps there is something in this explanation, for a pill given by a friendly hand is not as bitter as a pill administered by a foe. But the true solution of the problem lies elsewhere. It takes two to make a fight, and if Bismarck was not Joseph neither were the Catholics of 1872 the Catholics of 1770. The Austrian subjects of Joseph were simple people with no conception of their political rights and but hazy ideas of their religious duties, confiding and easily victimized. The German Catholics of 1872 had gone through an education that opened their eyes, not only a book education but a practical education. They knew not only their duties to the Church but also their rights in the state. They had seen their priests and their prelates fighting against the encroachments and usurpations of governors, some of them ignorant and some fanatical. They had taken part in protestations against state injustice and in the support of their prelates against state usurpation; they had learned their duties in their schools and their interests in their journals and their associations. They had been governed by bishops who feared God first and their king next, whose guide was their conscience and not their

interest. Besides political progress had endowed them with a voice in their own government. They were not dumb slaves but voting freemen, and they were intelligent enough to vote for their friends and not for their enemies. Without rioting, and passively obedient to the laws, they strengthened the vigor of their spokesmen at every election and they had spokesmen worthy of such clients. Their ancestors had been betrayed by their own priests and bishops. The Catholics of the Kulturkampf had not only conscientious leaders in the hierarchy, but loyal, able, fearless representatives in the parliamentary arena. The magic by means of which the Catholics of the Kulturkampf defended themselves, resisted the aggressions of the enemy, paralyzed them, and finally checkmated them, was the combination of the old God-fearing faith with modern education, religious, intellectual and political—the accommodation of the ever plastic church to all that is good and noble in modern progress and liberty. Bismarck's failure was the demonstration that the Church of Christ is not tied up with intellectual sciolism nor with political Bourbonism, but was a living force in the nineteenth century, with all its scientific and economical advance, as it was when it converted the Saxons and the Alemanni from roaming barbarians into settled and orderly cultivators of the soil.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.





# THE KULTURKAMPF

## II.

### THE CENTRE PARTY.(1)

When the members of the Reichstag returned to their homes after achieving the expulsion of the dangerous Jesuits, in 1872, symptoms soon appeared, indicating that the disciples of Loyola were not the only objects of dread to the valiant heroes who had conquered France. Against his bitter convictions, Dr. v. Mühler, Prussian Minister of Worship, passed a bill stripping the parish priests of the right of supervising the catechetical instruction of Catholic children. Somewhat later, the National Liberal, von Treutschke, in the *Preussischen Jahrbücher* opened his heart and declared that the bishops and the Curia must be muzzled, and prophetically advocated all the laws subsequently known under the name of May Laws. On June 22d, 1872, after a long search for the desirable man, Adelbert von Falk, the rationalistic son of a rationalistic clergyman, took over the portfolio of worship held by von Mühler, who lacked strenuousness and had some feeling for his Catholic fellow subjects. Falk gave his name to the famous laws of the Kulturkampf, though it is still a moot point whether he was the original inventor of the articles or merely compounded them according to Bismarck's prescriptions. At various times both claimed and disclaimed the invention. The leading Catholics of Germany were not blind to these ominous

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(1) This article is now printed for the first time. It was prepared originally for the *Messenger*.

forebodings of a coming storm. In the cause of self defense the German bishops once more gathered at the tomb of St. Boniface at Fulda, September 18th, 1872, and adopted an eloquent appeal to the German Government to respect the rights of the Church and not to disquiet Catholic consciences. The appeal met with no response.

Meantime, Bismarck's negotiations with the National Liberals were making progress. That party was strong in the Reichstag and the Prussian Diet. Bismarck, who during the sixties had consistently spat upon the rights of the Parliament and proclaimed the absolutism of the Prussian Crown, now began to sail under the parliamentary flag and built up a parliamentary majority on a liberal basis. The Conservatives had recently offended the mighty Chancellor by throwing out some of his bills in the upper Prussian house as a penalty for which, Bismarck proposed to annihilate that institution. Kaiser William could not bring himself to destroy his faithful conservative servants, but saved the liberal alliance by creating twenty-five new National Liberal peers. Bismarck promised Falk that in his crusade against the Church he would support him to the bitter end and guaranteed him against any weaknesses of the emperor. Things looked promising for the enemies of the Church, when suddenly, on January 1st, 1873, Bismarck resigned the presidency of the Prussian Cabinet and was succeeded by the Minister of War, General v. Roon, an old Prussian conservative who had repeatedly bewailed to his friends Bismarck's new alliances. The National Liberals were panic stricken. Were their financial and anti-religious schemes to be foiled after all? What does it mean? asked Virchow. Things will remain as they

were, answered Windthorst; and v. Roon, who had been hypnotized by the wizard of Varzin confirmed Windthorst's prediction. Von Roon was an orthodox Protestant, and at times felt uncomfortable when as Prime Minister he fathered Falk's laws, which he regarded with suspicion though he perhaps did not understand them fully. At all events he had become Bismarck's tool, and eight days after von Roon's promotion Falk brought in his first four laws for the fettering of the Catholic Church in Prussia.

The first law regulated the education of the Catholic clergy in Prussia. It provided that all ecclesiastical offices and holdings, permanent and temporary, were to be open only to Germans who had finished their Gymnasium (collegiate) studies successfully; had studied for three years in a German university or in an episcopal seminary, if the minister of public worship had approved of the course there given, and had passed a satisfactory examination before the state authorities. The law furthermore placed all petits séminaires, *Konvikts* and clerical seminaries under the control of the minister of worship, required the approval of the disciplinary rules of these institutions by the president of the province who had the right to supervise these institutions, and prescribed the qualifications of the professors. Disobedience to the law entailed loss of state support by the institution.

The second law dealt with the appointment of priests to clerical benefices. It required the names of all candidates for such positions to be submitted to the president of the province, who, within thirty days might object if the candidate had not the necessary education, was a criminal, or if he had given reason to think that he would resist the state law or endanger the public peace. Ap-

pointments contrary to the provision of this law were to be null and void. The law also required vacancies to be filled within a fixed time and exacted a penalty of 1,000 marks for disobeying this provision.

The third law dealt with the disciplinary power of the Church and enacted that only Germans should administer this power. It forbade corporal punishment and fines exceeding thirty Thaler or one month's salary, the confinement in a convent of clergymen guilty of ecclesiastical wrong-doing for more than thirty days, and placed monasteries for clerical delinquents under the superintendence of the state, and permitted delinquent clergymen to appeal from the decision of the bishop to the state authorities. It created a secular court of appeal to which appeals from the ecclesiastical court might be taken. Publication of excommunication was legally punishable.

The fourth law prohibited the Church authorities from imposing any but ecclesiastical penalties, and not even these if the delinquency consisted in obeying the state law or in voting for or against any measure. It forbade ecclesiastical penalties to be made public, and imposed a fine, not exceeding a thousand Thaler and the loss of civil rights for not more than five years for the breach of this law.

The reader with American ideas of religious liberty will unquestionably wonder that statesmen with modern ideas and dubbing themselves liberal should consider a church free when its clergy can neither be educated by the professors of her own selection, nor freely follow courses of instruction prescribed by her own prelates, nor be trained in the traditional discipline of the denomination; when over every bishop is placed a satrap, when the seal of state approval is needed to supplement the

bishop's chrism, and when the bishop's instructions are powerless without the governor's fiat, when the pope's authority is implicitly annulled. The Falk Laws bound the Church as efficiently as those of Joseph II, and were even less easy to be borne because the forger of the chain could not be regarded as in any sense a friend. The third and fourth laws were partly drawn to suggest that Catholic bishops were brutal tyrants whose work it was to inflict corporal punishment and monastic imprisonment, partly to assure ill inspired priests that henceforward they had no reason to fear ecclesiastical authority, and partly to terrorize weakly souls among the Catholic prelates. Minister von Falk himself laid his laws before the lower house of the Prussian Diet. They were supported principally by the National Liberals, among the orators being Lasker, Windthorst's nephew, the member for Dortmund; the Old Catholic, Petri, and the radical Professor Virchow, who, in his speech delivered January 17th, 1873, gave the name of Kulturkampf to the conflict inaugurated by the Falk laws. Though little or no opportunity was given to the adversaries of the bill to study up the underlying facts, nevertheless the leaders of the Centre proved themselves skilled champions in the parliamentary arena. Mallinckrodt, in reply to Falk's assurance that peace was the aim of his proposed legislation, declared that the government laws were an attempt externally to enslave, internally to revolutionize, and eventually to break up the Catholic Church and thus to give her the peace of the graveyard. Von Gerlach, one of the non-Catholic members of the Centre, reminded the Chancellor of the principles of his youth and the National Liberals of their past. "Now their watchword was the police; the police to the right,

police to the left, the police in the rear and the police in front; ministerial decisions and special courts without appeal. Are these the same Liberals who in 1848 hardly shrank from assailing the throne? Do the left no longer know what it is to fight with the intellect? Do they know nothing but policemen, fines and imprisonment in the realm of faith and of the intellect?" Reichensperger subjected the bills to keen legal criticism which rent them in tatters, and Schorlemer-Alst exposed their injustice. Finally Windthorst laid down the program the Catholics meant to follow in the conflict forced upon them. "We shall never resort to illegal measures in order to meet the hostile aims of the ministry. On the day on which the Catholics allow themselves to be mislead into breaking the laws they would imperil to the utmost the victory which is already in their hands (laughter on the left; cries of very true in the Centre), yes, gentlemen, which is close at hand, very close at hand because men's eyes are beginning to be opened. I know men on the other side whose most earnest wish is that the Catholics should do something unlawful, but there is a perfectly correct passive resistance, and this, gentlemen, we must, we shall and we will practise. This passive resistance will sooner or later dash to pieces all the schemes contained in these bills. May God grant that our country suffer no loss in this conflict."

Before the debate had made much progress, the orators of the Centre convinced the government that the bills were a direct infringement of Articles 15 and 18 of the Prussian Constitution, guaranteeing religious liberty to all recognized religious denominations. Falk thereupon brought in a bill so modifying them that religious liberty was practically killed. In opposing these amendments

the Catholics were backed by a number of orthodox conservatives, foremost among them being the ex-premier, Baron von Manteufel, who, in direct contradiction of Bismarck, declared emphatically that by the amendments to the constitution, as well as by the four laws, religion was touched in its most vital points. He expressed his regret that in this legislation Bismarck's usually clear vision had been dimmed, for in his entire speech he had brought forward nothing tangible except the formation of the Centre. He added that the Centre had done nothing except what the laws gave them a right to do. "If the Church be subjected to these laws as you propose to do, you subject her at the same time to all future laws, all laws that may be passed by some future legislature. What kind of a parliament, and what kind of a ministry we shall then have we know not." But neither the honest words of the aged ex-premier, nor the eloquent pleas and remonstrances of the Centre could stem the flood breaking in on the Church in Prussia. The constitution was amended and the Church laws were passed May 9th, 1873, by a majority of two to one. A few days later they received the Emperor's signature. We regret that it is impossible to give a detailed picture of the parliamentary struggle which on this occasion and through the Kulturkampf immortalized the names of the great leaders of the Centre party, Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, the two Reichenspergers, Schorlemer-Alst, Lieber, and a dozen other great champions of the Catholic cause. They stood up early and late for truth and justice, pointed out the wrong doings and blunders of their opponents and won the love and admiration not only of their German countrymen but of the Catholics of the entire world. The Catholics of Germany were certainly

fortunate in commanding at this critical junction, the services of so many able chiefs, men not only great as orators and parliamentarians, as jurists and sociologists, but also men of great practical experience, who knew the details of government from within as well as from without and could accordingly avoid the errors of mere theorists. It is the lack of such leaders that has been a notable drawback to the Catholic cause in France.

Outside of the Prussian Parliament, the impression produced by Falk's laws was equally deep both among Catholics and Protestants. Only eight days after the Falk bills were brought in (January 17th, 1873) Bishop Martin of Paderborn addressed a memorial to the Cabinet in which he bluntly told the ministers that no consideration of temporal loss would ever prevail on him to lend his hand to carry out the proposed laws. On the 30th of January, Archbishop Melchers of Cologne, and Ledochowsky of Posen, in the name of all the bishops of Prussia presented an appeal and a protest to the ministers conjuring them to permit the Catholics to enjoy their guaranteed rights and to ward off the threatened storm. This address received the indorsement of most of the bishops in Europe and America, as well as that of many distinguished laymen. At the same time the Prussian hierarchy memorialized the Emperor William I, as well as both the houses of the Prussian Parliament. On May 2d the Bishops met at Fulda and issued a joint pastoral to the Catholics of Prussia, explaining the nature of the laws, the stand they had taken, and the duties of the faithful. If the bishops without loss of time defended their standpoint both to the government and to their flocks, the government on its side was equally strenuous in carrying out the laws. The bishops were summoned



to furnish to the presidents of the provinces the course of studies and the disciplinary rules of their several seminaries and petits séminaires. Of course they refused. The ministry forthwith proceeded to close the seminaries. The seminary of Gnesen and Posen, August 23d, 1873, was the first victim, then followed Paderborn, October 1st; Hildesheim, December, 1873; Trier, January, 1874, and later Fulda and Cologne. The students were dismissed, a few of them being received in Bavarian seminaries.

Still more drastic were the measures of the ministry to enforce the appointment law. The bishops ignored its provisions and continued to make appointments as theretofore. The priests appointed, almost universally undertook their new duties. But every appointment was followed by proceedings for violation of the law, both against the bishops and against the appointee; ere long the former had been sentenced to fines amounting to thousands of dollars and the latter both to fines and imprisonment. The jails began to swarm with Catholic priests whose only crime was that they had tried to do their duties as commanded by their bishops. Not unfrequently they were subjected to the indignity of sharing the cells of thieves and other felons.

But perhaps the bitterest fruit of the Kulturkampf were the unofficial penalties inflicted on the Catholics individually and collectively by their fellow citizens. They were declared to be the enemies of culture, progress and enlightenment, enemies of the German Empire; Catholic meant unpatriotic; in fact, a Catholic had no fatherland and ultramontanes were enemies of their native country. It was the fashion to treat Catholics as social and political inferiors. To be admitted to good society it was neces-

sary to fight for the Falk laws. The Kulturkampf cleft Prussian society in twain, so that even Catholics who did not openly support the Centre were regarded with suspicion. Even the ties of family were rent and business relations were affected by the struggle. In several cities of the Rhenish country the National Liberals printed so-called black lists as the basis of a boycott against ultramontane tradesmen. Workmen who were known or suspected to have voted for Centre candidates lost their employment. The members of the Common Council of Münster were fined ninety marks apiece for congratulating Bishop Ketteler of Mainz, a native of Münster, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop. The Catholic press was persecuted by suppressions, confiscations and the imprisonment of the editors. In short, the Kulturkampf was equivalent to a declaration of outlawry against Catholics, socially, politically and in the press.

Bismarck attempted to engage other powers also in his anti-Catholic crusade, but he met with little success. Even the Italians, among whom he expected decided sympathies owing to the recent occupation of Rome, received the Chancellor's suggestions with chilling coolness. Only among a section of the English clergy and some unprogressive politicians of the Lord John Russell type did Bismarck meet with any sympathy. But the English press and the English people in general saw nothing desirable in Bismarck's anti-papal proposals.

Meanwhile the time was approaching which was to show the political results of the Kulturkampf policy. The May laws were intended to appeal not only to the Protestants, but also to Josephist and state worshipping Catholics as well as to the Old Catholics and their sympa-

thizers. The Chancellor and the National Liberal schemers were not a little surprised by the result of the elections for the lower Prussian chamber held on November 4th, 1873. The electors, instead of sixty centrists, returned ninety-one, including the two Protestants, Bruel and von Gerlach. The sentiment of the people throughout Germany was manifested in the election for the Reichstag, January 10th, 1874, when ninety-one instead of sixty-three members of the Centre were chosen. In 1871 the Centre had received a popular vote of 696,586, while in 1874 this figure rose to 1,443,170, more than double. At the same time the Liberals maintained their position in the Reichstag as the strongest party in that body, for they numbered 240 members, of whom 155 were National Liberals. The conservative party dwindled so as to hold but twenty-two seats. These results were in part an endorsement of the economic policy of the liberal party; in part they were due to the publication, October 14th, 1873, by the government, of a private letter of Pius IX to the Emperor William, who the Pope suggested was dissatisfied with the policy of Bismarck. In it the Pope appealed to the Emperor to protect his Catholic subjects and concluded by recalling the relations which the Emperor through his baptism held to the Church of Christ of which the Pope was the head.

The first consequence of the elections was the resignation of General von Roon as Prime Minister, and the return of Bismarck to the Premiership. Not that Bismarck became a National Liberal, for he considered himself above party and was ready to govern with any majority he could make up. This partnership with the National Liberals, the only party that could command a majority in Parliament, determined to some extent his

course regarding the May Laws. They must be maintained at any cost. New bills must be brought in, less to extend the field of conflict than to crush the resistance of the Catholics by violence and brutality.

The first of the new laws dealt with the administration of vacant sees. Its chief provisions were that new bishops and administrators of a see must notify the president of the province of their title and give proof of their fitness for the place; if approved they must swear fealty to the king and take an oath that they would obey all the laws of the state. It provided, moreover, that persons acting as bishops before taking the oath be subject to imprisonment from six months to two years, and that subordinate clergymen who obeyed unratified or deposed bishops or administrators be imprisoned from six months to two years. The property of sees declared vacant by the government and not filled within twenty-four days was to be taken in charge by a government commissary. In case a see be declared vacant by the government, if the chapter failed to elect a bishop or administrator, their salaries were to be stopped.

A second bill was an interpretation of and a supplement to the Falk laws passed in May, 1873. Its chief provisions were: Priests are punishable for the performance of any ecclesiastical function for which they do not hold the express authorization of the government. Property of clerical offices not legally conferred is to be confiscated. In case of vacant rectorships being unfilled, the provincial president may call on the members of the congregation to elect new pastors.

These laws were voted and signed by the Emperor in May, 1874. The contents of the first law indicate that the government expected to bring about vacancies in the

episcopal sees of Prussia, in other words, that it meant to depose bishops obnoxious to it. It had fined the prelates in tens of thousands of dollars, and had sold out their furniture and household goods under the most offensive circumstances. In Münster, for instance, the officials had been so rude to Bishop Brinckmann that the ladies of Westphalia presented him with an address of sympathy in which the police were compared with notorious ancient ruffians. This insult to the police led to the condemnation of the Countess Nesselrode to a fine of 200 Thalers or to six weeks imprisonment and the other ladies to lesser penalties. To show their appreciation of this specimen of Prussian justice, more than one hundred noble English and Irish ladies, on December 4th, 1874, headed by the Marchioness of Lothian and Lady Herbert of Lea, presented to the Westphalian ladies a magnificent address of sympathy.

Fines and executions by auction did not satisfy the champions of Prussian justice. On November 24th, 1873, Archbishop Ledochowsky was requested to resign his see of Gnesen and Posen. When he declined to accept this invitation he was thrown into prison, February 3, 1874. The same fate befell Bishop Eberhard of Trier, March 6th, 1874; Archbishop Melchers of Cologne, March 31st, 1874, and Bishop Martin of Paderborn, August 4th, 1874, who had so far escaped imprisonment because his friends paid his fines for him, but who was now informed that he must pay his own fines or go to prison.

But the jailing and interment of priests and bishops proved insufficient to accomplish the purposes of the Chancellor. As long as the priests remained in the land they consoled and encouraged their flocks and adminis-

tered the Sacraments. This appeared intolerable, so on April 21, 1874, he placed before the Reichstag a bill called a law to prevent the unauthorized exercise of religious functions, but in reality a law enabling state officials to intern or banish any minister of religion, who, after being deposed from his office, would continue to exercise any of his functions. If interned, he was forbidden to say Mass or perform his other duties at the place of his residence. In the debate which followed, von Bennigsen, the leader of the National Liberals, repeated the charge that Rome had begun the Kulturkampf, which Mallinckrodt bluntly declared a lie and delivered one of the most telling speeches of his career. It was the orator's last effort, for a month later, May 26th, 1874, he was carried off by a sudden death, lamented by Catholic Germany and regretted even by his political opponents.

Like the banishment law, the next bill in this series of Kulturkampf laws was passed by the Reichstag. It ordained that thereafter all marriages to be valid in the eyes of the state must take place before the civil authorities. The orthodox Protestant conservatives felt that this enactment was a severer blow to their own clergy than to the Catholic Church, and a number of their representatives opposed the passage of the bill. But the body of the conservative party were so completely dominated by Bismarck's will that the bill became a law by a vote of 205 to 72, January 23d, 1875.

Meantime the crusade against bishops and clergy and the church in general continued. All non-German priests, even such as resided in Germany to pursue their studies, were expelled. Pilgrimages and processions, unless consecrated by ancient usage, were forbidden. Catholic societies were suppressed, meetings were broken up, and

the press interfered with by frequent confiscations and the imprisonment of editors. It was said jocosely that the *Germania* had one editor whose duty it was to represent the journal in jail.

On the 15th of April, 1874, the state ecclesiastical court for the first time deposed a Catholic bishop, Abp. Ledochowsky of Gnesen and Posen. The chapter was ordered to choose his successor. The canons declined to do this because there was no vacancy. On June 5th, 1875, Bishop Martin of Paderborn, after serving several terms of imprisonment, was deposed by the secular court. After his deposition he was sentenced to serve several new terms of imprisonment in the fortress of Wesel, because among other crimes, he had authorized four newly ordained priests to hear confessions. However, on August 4th, 1875, he secretly left Wesel and found a refuge in Belgium, where he died four years later.

The government had hitherto allowed recalcitrant clergymen to receive their salaries. Now, however, the Cabinet thought it time to exert pressure upon their stomachs. They therefore introduced in the Prussian Diet a bill to stop the salaries of all bishops and priests who refused to obey the state laws, a bill which received the popular title of the Bread-Basket Law. It was passed April 17th, 1875.

About a month later the parliamentary mill ground out a new law, this time against the religious orders. By its provisions all the existing orders, not charitable in their character, were excluded from Prussia. Their property was taken charge of by the state for the benefit of the members. The execution of the law began on the very day of its promulgation. Hundreds of harmless monks and thousands of inoffensive nuns were ejected

from their homes, the greater number going into exile, several hundred to the United States.

By this time Falk had almost come to the limits of possibility in the way of forging claims for the dignitaries of the Church. However, though weakened by the amendments of 1873, the Prussian constitution still contained Articles 15, 16 and 18, guaranteeing liberty and equality to the several religious denominations recognized in Prussia. To cut off all hope for the future these were now doomed to destruction. They fell victims of the Kulturkampf June 18, 1875.

About the same time, June 20th, 1875, the Diet passed a law permitting the administration of the property of each parish to a board consisting of a parish priest, a number of elected parishioners and the Church trustees. With the consent of the Holy See, the bishops who had had such repeated proofs of the loyalty of their flocks decided to permit the laity to accept this law.

This was the last of the persecuting Falk laws. We mention, however, that about the same time the ministry found it desirable to pass a law recognizing the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens and his church. But while the legal factory ceased its work, the police and the courts lost no time in applying these new instruments of torture. Bishop after bishop was deposed by the court of appeal, until of the twelve bishops constituting the Prussian hierarchy there remained only four in July, 1877. Two had died and six had been deposed by the courts and gone into exile. The dioceses were governed through secret delegates. The police engaged in an active chase for these underground bishops, but they had their trouble for their pains, a striking proof of the loyalty of both clergy and laity.



Before the end of the year 1877, all the Catholic female academies had been suppressed. The *Petits Séminaires* and the regular clerical seminaries had been closed by the government and the education of the clergy had practically come to an end. Hundreds of priests, after being fined and sent to jail, had been forbidden to exercise their sacred duties and deprived of their salaries; considerably more than a thousand congregations were without pastors, high or low. Infants had to be brought miles in order to be baptized, hundreds of the dying were left without the consolations of religion, and in a thousand churches on Sundays the Mass was replaced by the recital of the Rosary. The Catholic youth left without moral religious instruction in school and in church, and a new generation was growing up in ignorance of the beauties of Catholic worship and the requirements of orderly Catholic life. The Prussian statesmen were following the example of the imperial Roman conquerer; they made a waste and called it peace.

But since the year 1876 there had appeared stray symptoms of a possible change in the government policy. Bismarck was unquestionably an unscrupulous and brutal ruler, but he was a practical statesman and not a doctrinaire. As Windthorst said in the Reichstag about this time, he was big enough to rise above the course of the ordinary statesman and become inconsistent for his own ends even to the point of going to Canossa. In fact, Windthorst was right in saying that the only hope of the Catholics rested on Bismarck, the chief cause of their troubles. Not that Bismarck was likely to be converted and confess his sins, but new circumstances might lead him to adopt new policies. Now since 1876 there had appeared some ominous rifts in the relations between Bis-

marck and his liberal friends. The cardinal principle of these friends, whether as a matter of doctrine or a matter of profit, was free trade. But Bismarck's free trade policy had spread desolation among the German farmers and had touched a tender spot in the pockets of the old Prussian nobles and squires of whom Bismarck was one. So the Chancellor began to doubt the wisdom of the economic policy of his National Liberal friends, and ended, as we shall see, in becoming an out and out protectionist. But Bennigsen and Lasker could not follow Bismarck in this evolution and the chancellor had to look out for new combinations in order to carry out his new policy. As we have seen, in 1875 the Liberals with 240 votes were the ruling power in the Reichstag. But when the results of the elections of July 31, 1878, were made known, the Liberals of all shades hardly had a hundred members, while the Conservatives, from twenty-two in 1874, now numbered a hundred and one, and the Centre held a hundred and three seats. As a result the old liberal conservative combination was hardly a majority, and what is more, the old allies were divided on the all important tariff question. On this question, the Centre had since 1874 taken a stand substantially in harmony with the conservative policy, and they voted with the latter party in favor of a protective tariff. On this occasion the Centre for the first time proved its importance as a factor in purely political questions.

The attempts on the life of Emperor William, made by Hoedel and Nobiling, impressed on that monarch the need of taking steps to strengthen the conservative elements in his kingdom and no doubt rendered him more inclined to peace with his Catholic subjects whom he knew to have always been loyal supporters of lawful authority.

To these factors, favoring a change in the Kulturkampf policy, must be added the now apparent fact that all the measures taken by the government to disrupt and crush the Catholic Church had proved complete failures. The Catholics were more closely united and formed a more formidable phalanx in 1878 than in 1872. They were a unit against the men and measures of the Kulturkampf. Bismarck had played his last trump and it did not prove a winning card.

It was under these circumstances that the death of Pius IX took place, February 7th, 1878. Pius IX had been regarded, or at least denounced by Bismarck and his friends, as the foe of the Hohenzollerns and the New German Empire, and his death made it easier for the Chancellor to open negotiations with the new pope. Leo XIII, on his side, held out the olive branch by expressing to the German Emperor, in the letter announcing his election, the hope that there might again be cordial relations between the empire and the See of Rome. The Emperor's answer to this was formal and cool, which did not, however, prevent the pope from sending a second conciliatory letter to Berlin (April 17th).

About this time William I was seriously wounded by the socialist, Dr. Nobiling, and the Pontiff hastened to send a letter of condolence to the Emperor. The Emperor being incapacitated by his injuries, the Crown Prince Frederick as regent sent a reply reciprocating the Pontiff's hopes and desires for peace. Other indications likewise pointed in a conciliatory direction. On the other hand, the failure of the Centre to support Bismarck's anti-socialist bill, roused the Chancellor's ire. Henceforth he turned to Rome to reach an understanding that would satisfy his schemes. At first negotiations were

carried on through the nuncios at Munich and Vienna, with the apparent aim of bringing the Centre under his control through papal influence; but these attempts turned out fruitless. Bismarck then declared that he would not give up the May Laws, though he might agree to soften their application. They were weapons, he said, not to be thrown away, though he might lay them down for the time. In fact, since the accession of Leo XIII there had been evident a marked tendency towards a more lenient application of the May Laws. In many places, for instance, Catholic parish priests had again been placed on the school board.

When Bismarck took up negotiations with the Roman authorities in 1878-1880, Windthorst declared in parliament that the Centre was ever ready to ratify the measures agreed upon between Berlin and the Holy See, but for several years after the accession of Leo XIII there was nothing to ratify. The pope was willing to concede at least in part the *Anzeigepflicht*, i. e., the agreement that before naming new rectors, the bishops should send their names to the Prussian authorities, but at the same time he demanded that there should be an organic revision of the May Laws. This Bismarck was not willing to grant, and to bring pressure upon Rome he suspended negotiations and brought in a bill dealing with the Kulturkampf without any previous understanding with Rome (May 20th, 1880). This law gave the government the discretionary right to suspend many of the provisions of the Falk laws, leaving these laws, however, on the statute book. It made no real concessions to the Catholics, but only placed in the hands of the government a means of exerting pressure upon the clergy and through them on the Centre. At the same time the *Anzeigepflicht* remained

in full force. Neither the pope nor the Centre took the bait. The law was passed in parliament, however, by a majority of four, with the help of about one-half of the National Liberals (July 14th, 1880).

Armed with this discretionary power, the government granted some slight relief to the suffering Catholics, but their greatest grievance remained in force. Though as we have said, considerably more than a thousand parishes were without pastors or assistant pastors, it still remained a crime punishable with fine and imprisonment for priests unrecognized by the government to say Mass on Sundays or administer the Sacraments even to the dying. On January 26th, 1881, Windthorst moved in the Diet that the penalties for these crimes be abrogated, but his bill did not become a law. Twice thereafter Windthorst made the same motion, partly because of its urgent necessity and partly as a political measure to bring pressure upon the government. But the result in both cases was failure.

Meantime, using the discretionary power granted by the law of 1880, the Prussian minister of worship dispensed the newly appointed administrators of the dioceses of Osnabrück and Paderborn from taking the obnoxious oath and thereby restored to these dioceses whose bishops had died, a regular government. Trier soon afterwards, September 25, 1881, received a new bishop in Dr. Korum, rector of the Cathedral of Strassburg, and Fulda in Dr., afterwards Cardinal Kopp, November 15th, 1881. At the same time the Church property was given back to these dioceses and the payment of salaries to the clergy was resumed. When it was reported that the German envoy to Washington, Dr. Kurt von Schlözer, who had carried on the negotiations

for the appointment of Bishops Korum and Kopp, was to be sent as regular envoy to the Vatican, Virchow interpellated the government in the Diet on this subject. In his answer, Bismarck, who had so often spoken of the pope as an Italian prelate and a foreigner, declared that the Catholic Church with its bishops and the pope at their head were an internal institution in Germany. Early in 1882 the four Prussian bishoprics still vacant were filled.

How completely the views of the German statesmen in and out of office had changed by this time, became manifest when in January, 1882, Windthorst introduced in the Reichstag a motion to repeal the banishment law. In spite of the opposition of the government the bill was passed by a vote of 233 to 115. Even Virchow voted for the repeal and tried to clear the skirts of the Liberals by throwing the entire responsibility for the Kulturkampf on Bismarck and the Emperor. As the Bundesrath, however, rejected the bill, Windthorst's victory in the Reichstag had no practical results.

Simultaneously the minister of public worship, von Puttkamer, announced that the government had resumed negotiations with Rome, and in March a bill was brought in to appropriate 90,000 marks for the new embassy at the Vatican. The National Liberals growled and scolded and Virchow declared that Bismarck was going to Canossa. But the bill was passed by a majority of two to one. In fact, it is noteworthy that while most of the Falk Laws had been passed by a vote of two to one, the National Liberals being in the majority, henceforth the peace laws, repealing the Falk measures, were usually passed by the same majority, the National Liberals being in the opposition. This was the case

for the law proposed about the same time, which in its original form was by no means acceptable to the Catholics, but which in committee was so amended as to expunge the objectionable provisions and to grant some valuable concessions to the Catholics. It permitted the government to allow the return of the exiled bishops and the appointment of vacant curacies.

Windthorst's second attempt to secure for Catholic priests the right to say Mass and administer the Sacraments without being punished therefore, failed, as the first had done, but elicited from the Jewish member of the Diet, Stern, so thorough a condemnation of the Kulturkampf that we cannot forbear quoting it. "The Kulturkampf," he said, "had invaded a province that no secular legislature had a right to touch. The Kulturkampf is dead, and the national church of which men dreamt has proven an empty dream; the Kulturkampf is a withered flower. Even the conservatives confess that it was too radical and that we must retreat. The National Liberals themselves, the authors of this blundering policy, reluctantly declare in private and in public: 'We are ready to revise, they have gone too far, their policy is impossible.' . . . Have the Catholics under the May Laws to-day liberty to practise their religion? No! By liberty to practise their religion, I understand the right of Catholics to choose their clergymen as they wish. I cannot see religious liberty where the state usurps the power to decree how my pastor shall be educated and what shall be his other qualities. Gentlemen, I demand for the Catholics only the rights which we Jews enjoy in Prussia."

Bismarck continued to pursue his policy of throwing crumbs of relief to the Catholics. In June, 1883, he

passed a new law repealing some provisions of the Falk Laws. Early the next year he for the first time made use of the power granted him two years before to pardon the bishops of Limburg and Münster, thus completing the Prussian hierarchy; but the archiepiscopal sees of Posen and Cologne still remained vacant. These were not filled until 1885, after the resignation of Archbishops Ledochowsky and Melchers, who were created Cardinals.

Notwithstanding these alleviations the substance of the May Laws remained intact, and Bismarck declined to revise them organically until the pope conceded the *Anzeigepflicht*. In February, 1886, a new bill granting a measure of relief was presented to the upper Prussian chamber of which Bishop Kopp had recently been made a member. The bill was sent to a committee, where Kopp explained the necessary changes, but the government played at battledore and shuttle-cock, alternately sending back the law to the chamber and to the committee. While this game was going on at Berlin the negotiations at Rome continued. The apple of discord was the requirement that the bishop should notify the government of the proposed appointments to benefices. Leo XIII had conceded this for the 1,200 vacant rectorships, but Bismarck insisted that the modification should be permanent. At last, when von Schlözer telegraphed that the bill and Cardinal Kopp's amendments would fail, the pope reluctantly made the desired concession. The bill as amended by the Cardinal was now rapidly forwarded and finally passed by a large majority. So fell the greater part of Falk's Kulturkampf Laws on May 21, 1886.

In accordance with his promise to the Holy Father,



Bismarck introduced a new law regulating the relations between Church and state early in the year 1887. It repealed a number of obnoxious May Law provisions whilst it allowed other clauses to stand. The German bishops and a great part of the Centre were opposed to the acceptance of the new law, especially because it accorded to the provincial presidents the right to negative candidates for rectorships proposed by the bishops. Leo XIII, after carefully weighing both sides of the question, advised the Catholics of Germany to accept the new legislation; in fact he regarded the concessions made in the law as a substantial proof of the re-establishment of religious peace in the Empire. The Pontiff's words were listened to and the Centre voted for the law which was, as usual, antagonized by the National Liberals. Bismarck, in answering the attacks of the Liberals, declared that unless the bill became a law he would withdraw from the Prussian Ministry. This law, which was regarded as the final conclusion of peace between the Prussian government and the Church, was signed by the Emperor on April 29th, 1887.

Some of the May Laws still left on the statute books disappeared therefrom in subsequent years, as for instance, the banishment law. The Jesuit law was at first modified by allowing the return to Germany of the Redemptorists and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost. In 1904, Prince Hohenlohe obtained the passage of a bill allowing the Jesuits as individuals to reside in the Empire, amid the most violent protests of the fanatics of the Gustav Adolph Verein.

Though the Kulturkampf ended her substantial victory, the position of the Catholic Church in Germany at its close was not as favorable as it had been under Frederick

William IV. The *Anzeigepflicht*, the disappearance of the clauses granting liberty of worship from the Prussian constitution, the remnants of the Jesuit law, the restrictions imposed on the regular clergy, the administration of Church property, and the less firm hold of the clergy on religious instruction, were decided and positive losses. It is true that the Prussian government, and especially William II, have made a moderate use of the *Anzeigepflicht* and other concessions of the Roman Curia, and that the present Emperor has given many proofs of his desire to gain the love and affection of his Catholic subjects. Still the condition of Catholics in Germany is far from ideal. Not to speak of the bitter prejudices existing against them and their unfair exclusion from office and power, they still suffer from much positive intolerance. In Saxony, for instance, under a Catholic king the Church suffers under the most cruel disabilities. In Mecklenburg Strelitz they are not allowed to have any churches, and a priest is permitted to reside in the duchy only ten days in the month. Though deprived of the right of baptizing children in Mecklenburg Schwerin, two Catholic Churches have been graciously conceded by their liberal fellow citizens.

Our review of the history of the Kulturkampf teaches us, in the first place, that the Church can defend its rights and existence as successfully under modern parliamentary forms of government as under the rules of absolute monarchs in the past. This retrospect fills us with admiration for the vigorous champions of Catholic rights in Germany, whether clerical or lay, from the noble bishops who suffered prison and exile for the sake of truth to the thousands of humble priests who were incarcerated and deprived of their means of living; from

the great statesmen of the Centre party to loyal citizens who voted for them and whose views they represented. But while we thus admire the Catholics of Germany, and while we rejoice in the triumphs which they achieved, we cannot but sympathize with their many sufferings and deplore the manifold tribulations which the Kulturkampf brought upon them. They nobly earned the peace which they conquered by their courage and their loyalty. To the great Pontiff, Leo XIII also, we must pay our tribute of admiration, for the wisdom and skill with which he directed the negotiations with Bismarck and his ministers, and especially for the enlightened recognition of what was practicable under the most difficult conditions.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.



## **Darwinism Fifty Years After**



## **Darwinism Fifty Years After**

(1858-1908.)

DARWINISM has had its golden jubilee celebration! On July 1, 1908, the admirers of Charles Darwin met in solemn assembly in London; one of his sons and the aged A. R. Wallace, once the co-operator of the great naturalist in working out the evolution theory, and now its principal advocate, were the guests of honor. But not in London alone were celebrations held; in Rome, on the twenty-fifth of last February, the event was commemorated in a lecture by Professor Cuboni at the Roman College. We, too, may make the event our theme in order to gather fruit from the story of Darwinism. False science may affect to disregard and ban the teachings of Christian philosophy, but time and the dissolvent force of analysis eventually show the scientific inanity of the new theories so lightly set up in its place.

### **HOW THE THEORY ORIGINATED.**

The history of Evolution, unless we wish to trace it to the Greek Anaximander, began in the works of G. C. Vanini (a forgotten name now recalled to memory by a famous letter of Minocchi), and of Giordano Bruno, put on a scientific dress in those of Lamarck (1744-1829), and reached its zenith in 1858, when Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace explained orally to the Linnæan Society, and after them Hooker, the Botanist, and Huxley, the Anatomist to the Royal Society, the new

theory of the evolution of plants and animals. One year later Darwin's celebrated book, "The Origin of Species," made its appearance, while that of the "Descent of Man," still more famous, appeared only in 1870. These two books, which were the fruit of twenty years of laborious investigations, in which his friend, A. R. Wallace, was his assistant, brought to completion the new theory, which, though in substance that of Lamarck, inasmuch as he taught the transformation of species, differed from his views chiefly on two heads. Whereas Lamarck expressly starts from the concept of God, the Creator of matter, Darwin on the contrary, if he does not exclude God, does not mention Him. Again, Darwin added to the Lamarckian laws that of natural selection or of the struggle for existence, or of the survival of the fittest. Furthermore, Darwinism improves on Lamarckianism by the more scientific method with which its author, equipped with a big array of facts and observations, was able to embellish it. At the beginning, the theory met with extraordinary success, so much so that in two or three years sixty thousand copies of Darwin's first book were sold in England, and in Berlin three thousand in one single day. It is based on the supposition that all the species of animals and plants may be reduced at the utmost to four or five primitive forms, without excluding the hypothesis that these few reduced forms may, after new discoveries, be referred to one single primitive form. Hence the name *Monophylogensis*, which its propagators gave the theory. Whence come the multitude of species of plants and animals which now fill the sea and the land around us? From nothing else than from the transformation or evolution of a few primitive species, in such wise, that both elephants and mosquitoes, stately palms and lowly



herbs, ostriches and sparrows, as Reusch expresses it<sup>(1)</sup> will some time be retraced to one single species. And what are the factors of this wonderful transformation? Here it is that Darwin, in seeing himself obliged to assign a scientific foundation to his hypothesis, gave proof of a wonderfully sagacious talent for invention. He invented outright a new metaphysical system, which, like his hypothesis itself was pronounced by Mr. Browne, perhaps not without reason, "undemonstrable and irrefutable at the same time," inasmuch as neither in holding it nor in rejecting it can one produce proofs of an experimental and positive nature. The laws of logic, however, absolve from the obligation of proving one's denial of an unsupported assertion. The axiom: *quod gratis asseritur, gratis negatur* is sufficient justification.

The fundamental principles of Darwinian metaphysics, are Natural Selection (formulated by Spencer as the Survival of the Fittest Type), the variability of forms, the law of heredity, the use and the non-use of organs and the influence of surroundings, the law of correlation of parts and finally sexual selection. As to Natural Selection, which is the last effort of the theory, Darwin expressed it by the following *enthymeme*:

Man has been able by industry to introduce varieties into the species of plants and animals; therefore, nature, which is more powerful than man, ought to have succeeded in forming something more, namely, not only mere varieties and mere races, but new species. *Potuit, ergo fecit*. Such is the foundation of the Darwinian evolution; a foundation not very solid in the opinion of good logicians, who see in the formula expressing it a pure

(1) "The Bible and Nature." Vol. 2, p. 335. (Italian Edition).

sophism, which they put aside with the words, *a posse ad esse non valet illatio*, and in substance a mere begging the question.

Granting that nature can do more than man (though man plus nature ought to produce greater works than nature when left to itself alone, as is evident from reason and experience), granting that nature can do more than man, it in no way follows that it has, as a matter of fact, transformed one species into another, unless it be actually proved that such has been the case, and unless experimental and positive examples are shown in proof of it.

Darwin, who was the first to propound the theory, was the first also to perceive its *a priori* nature and therefore betook himself most carefully to gather facts and observations to prop the cherished edifice he had built, and which was tottering under the first blows of his adversaries.

What has been the result? What is, in brief, the history of the fifty years of Darwinism? The question may be considered under three different heads, marking *the religious conflict, the scientific debate, the discomfiture*.

## I.

### *The Religious Conflict.*

We must be just to Darwin in acknowledging two things; the first that he was never entirely persuaded of the scientific seriousness of his evolution theory; the second, that in his works he restricted the new hypothesis to the scientific field, without allowing himself and, as far as it was in his power, his contemporary expounders, the liberty of opposing it to religious faith or to the

teaching of the Bible. He has written nothing about the origin of life, or about spontaneous generation; on the other hand, he expressly declared that the God of the Bible had nothing to lose, but rather much to gain from the evolution theory. In a word, Darwin, at least at the outset, was a creationist, although from a letter of his to Haeckel, which was published in the *Tablet* in 1879, and quoted by Faboni, he appears to have, in his advanced age, renounced religious belief.

It was the Darwinists of England and Germany and other nations who pushed the theory to its ultimate consequences, "who threw stones," to use Vogt's phrase, himself a stone-thrower, "into the garden of the Church." One of these consequences, as all know, was the attributing of that mysterious force, natural selection, to inorganic matter, including the power of developing rudimentary life from incipient organisms, in short "spontaneous generation." Given this first link in the chain of living beings, the rest needed no explanation, for Darwin had explained it. The result is too evident not to be seen by any who reflects ever so little; a personal Creator, "the God of the Bible," to use once more Vogt's words, who was first an anti-Darwinist and afterwards became an enthusiastic Darwinian, "is driven altogether out of doors."

Another corollary was the Darwinian explanation of the genesis of man. Since man in his material part is similar to the brute and in particular to the ape, he, too, is under the general law that regulates the animal world, and consequently, whatever we may choose to call them, whether pithecoids or anthropoids, a male ape and a female ape were man's true progenitors. How gratifying these two consequences were to Materialists and

Pantheists and in general to all enemies of the Bible and of religion is not easily told. This was the reason why Huxley and Spencer, and Haeckel and Büchner and Vogt and Moleschott and Marselli and De Dominicis and Flammarion and others accepted *ambabus ulnis* the new theory which permitted them to consider man, not as a noble creature made to the image and likeness of God, but as the most perfect among vertebrates, and to set aside the God of the Bible, Who had formed the first living cell, or to deny Him. It was quite natural that learned Christian believers should feel deeply offended by such unwarranted statements, and that they should rise in defense of truth by repelling in the name of philosophy and of scientific tradition those atheistic assumptions. Hence the ample apologetic literature, which Pfaff, Reusch, Giebel, Göppen, Baltzen, Faber, Frosht, Chammer and others have given us in Germany; Quârefages, Janch, Martin, etc., in France; Tommaseo, Ghitinghello, Pianciani Bernuzzi, Stoppani, Portanova, Fabani, Tuccimei, and others in Italy; Mivart and Dawson in England, and the great Agassiz in America.

Those who are readers of the *Civiltà* will not have forgotten the many long articles that have appeared in it discussing Darwinism and defending the dogma of creation and man's origin against the audacious negations of the new school. The task was no very difficult one, since in behalf of the existence of God as the primary cause of all existing beings there remained intact all the metaphysical, physical and moral demonstrations of sound philosophy. Is not the cosmos and with it each of the myriads of beings that compose it contingent, finite, composite, changing? Therefore, you must either deny the principle of causality or admit the origin of all

beings from an immutable Creator. Otherwise, the world is an insoluble problem, and all scientific knowledge impossible, even if it were only of the *infusorium* that swims in a drop of water as in an ocean. "After all," writes Lotz, "even if the new science had been able to win the assent of the learned, it would have succeeded only in pushing the miracle of immediate creation to a more distant point of time, when infinite wisdom was placing in the obscurity of chaos the immense capacity of such well-ordered development. Whatever may be the way in which God chose to create, no one can weaken the world's dependence on Him, no one can bind it more closely to Him."(2)

Was not the ape-man a blow to demolish the dogma of the origin of mankind, as narrated in the book of Genesis? Undoubtedly; and on this account Christian Darwinians asserted against it the teaching of Christian metaphysics concerning the spiritual, and consequently, the intellectual and moral nature of the human soul, between which and the brute there exists an impassable gulf. Nor can we in any manner say that it is an evolutionary development of the *anima belluina*, as Rosmini most erroneously taught, since the human soul is essentially spiritual and is only partially immersed in matter elevating man above the brute creation, which is necessarily restricted to the *hic et nunc*, and absolutely incapable of apprehending things ideally and universally; for which reason ideas and science and virtue are the exclusive glory of the spiritual substance.

Hence, while the human soul freely scours the infinite, the animal soul, on the contrary, remains stationary. Nor do the cleverness and tricks of the more perfect

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(2) Lotz "Micro-Cosmos," I, p. 450.

beasts demonstrate that they possess intelligence, since these achievements find their explanation in the *vis æstimatoria* and instinct they possess, but which are in no way intelligence, but a substitute for intelligence. Intelligence is man's privilege, notwithstanding the assertions of Haeckel and of his followers to the contrary; for which reason language or speech, which is the exterior manifestation of man's thought, is the Rubicon, according to Max Müller, which no brute has ever been able to cross. "Language," wrote Humboldt, "is the distinctive characteristic of man, and to invent it he had already to be man." As a consequence, the human soul cannot be derived *per traducem* from parents, but must needs come from outside, as Aristotle expressed it, that is, by a creative act, as sound philosophy demonstrates. Therefore, either you must admit the absurdity of the imperfect producing the perfect, and thus deny the principle of contradiction, or you must accept the aforesaid conclusion.

But could not the human body perchance be derived from the brute and then become informed by a human soul expressly created by God at the point when the body, prepared by Anthropoids and Pithecoids, had reached a fitting organic state and thus the *proto-anthropos* might spring up by evolution as the first link of that long chain, of which the human species is composed? By no means, except by a miracle from God, was the answer of the champions of sound philosophy and of the Bible. For in the first place, it is a metaphysical law borne out by the events of sixty centuries, both in regard to living and to non-living beings that matter must correspond to form, and that the generating parent indelibly imprints on the offspring neither more nor less than his own specific

characteristics, namely the natural disposition to receive neither more nor less form than that which the generating parent is possessed of. (3) For this reason the body of the first man had necessarily to be human, in order to be able to be informed by a human soul. On the other hand, the sacred text of Genesis, in which the particular creation of man is described, uses such expressive words as make it impossible for any one without doing violence to the text, to see anything else in it but God's *immediate act*, having for its ultimate object the whole human composite, that is, the body and the spiritual soul. Therefore, we read in Genesis, "the Lord God *formed* man out of the slime of the earth, and he *breathed* into his face the breath of life and man was *made* into a living soul." (Gen. 2.) Was it not evolutionists themselves who pointed to the notable differences between the human body and the body of living apes, and was it not on this account that all their hopes were based on the discovery at one time or another of the imaginary type of the much desired anthropoid or *alalos* (speechless) man, as Haeckel says, in order to give solid foundation to the new theory? Was it not the absence of this link that called forth the dictum of Mr. Wallace, the second pillar of Darwinism, that *the great laws that regulate the material world are inadequate to produce man*.

So long, then, as sound philosophy, confirmed by the scientific experience and observation of nature, so long as faith and sound exegesis and not presuppositions and imaginations are the guide of human reason, we may

(3) Cf. G. Mattiussi, S.J. "Is Evolution Possible?" The author demonstrates the negative chiefly with metaphysical and biological proofs, and gives a full refutation of Darwinism and of every other system of evolution.

not doubt of the particular and immediate creation of both man's soul and body.

The religious question was therefore ended, and a new victory crowned Christian Philosophy and Faith. There remained Biblical Chronology, according to which man's first appearance on earth sent us back no farther than six or eight thousands years, to be vindicated against the tenets of Evolutionists, such as Lyell, who claimed one thousand centuries; Piétrement, who asserted that the first races of the *Proto-Anthropos* appeared on this globe three thousand centuries ago, etc.

But, besides the fact that the question of Biblical Chronology, in itself vague and indeterminate, was always considered in Catholic theology a secondary matter as having no close connection with the deposit of faith, these assertions appeared so evidently unfounded, so exaggerated and so contrary to the data of sacred and profane history as to appear incredible to the very upholders of Darwinism.

Then, the debate was taken to the ground of science.

## II.

### *The Scientific Debate.*

Men of every faith entered the arena, some to defend and others to attack the theory, which, had it triumphed, would have forced new methods on the natural sciences, by rejecting the traditional concept of species, founded on descent from progenitors of the same nature and with the same physical characteristics.

The anti-Darwinians, and there were many, before everything else put themselves the question, whether the



new theory could be said to be a true scientific hypothesis. And, having weighed well all reasons pro and con, all upheld firmly the principle that an hypothesis, excogitated to give a new explanation to the great fact of the origin and development of life in the world, to the great *mystery of mysteries*, as Humboldt said, went outside the orbit of the purely natural sciences, and that it was more equitable and more natural to submit it to the tribunal of philosophy and theology. "From Aristotle down to Humboldt," wrote Fabri, "even naturalists were convinced that the primordial causes of the world's phenomena, the beginning of existence or creation, are above and precede every observation and on that account are considered to be beyond the sphere of the natural sciences."

At any rate, natural history should not in any way derogate from its own proper method, which is that of induction, drawing from the facts the scientific hypothesis, and not forcing the facts to justify the *a priori* conception of an imagined hypothesis. Now this was the first most serious charge made against Darwinism. "The weak side of the Darwinian hypothesis," wrote Hoffmann, "is that it rests on premises not founded on experience." It was Agassiz's conclusion also after mature examination. "We do no wrong to the Darwinian idea, when we affirm that it is an *a priori* conception, and we deny that it is the legitimate development of the acquisitions of modern science." These words received a startling confirmation from those of Moleschott, a downright evolutionist; "Men rather than facts are on Darwin's side." And Fabiani a propos of the famous *enthymeme* of Charles Darwin, quoted above, which is the foundation of the grandiose edifice of Darwinism, laughs at it, comparing it to the answer of a pupil who when asked if he knew

the lesson, replied: "Yes, I know it, but I have not been able as yet to study it, because the book in which I have to learn it is not written." *Risum teneatis, amici!*

But were then the facts quoted by Darwin in confirmation of the new system not facts but pure inventions? Certainly they were facts, but perfectly explicable under the former theory of the fixity of the species, because it was only a question of varieties more or less striking, which can be multiplied artificially and naturally without end, without trespassing on the principle of the immutability of the species whence they are derived. Thus wrote Pfaff, Heby, Fabri, Barande, Bianconi, Hartmann, A. Comte, Father Secchi, Tuccimei and others to whom we ought to add Professor Grassi, now teaching natural sciences at the Sapienza of Rome, and Professor Canestrini, qualified "as a man eminently positive and evolutionist," who declared quite categorically that "the struggle for existence, viz., natural selection does not explain the origin of species, but solely the extinction of existing species; that all the means, namely, heredity, variability, use and non-use, law of correlation and sexual selection, with which Darwin and Wallace have tried to prop natural selection, are in no way the causes of evolution." And Professor Carazzi, who now holds the chair of natural sciences at the Athenaeum of Padua, in a recent academic lecture declared that history, geology, embryology and whatever else Darwinism appealed to, have within these fifty years all turned against it. Hence the statement of Asa Gray, quoted by Fogazzaro, evolutionist, romance writer and poet, "*evolution is an hypothesis impossible to demonstrate now and forever.*" Mr. Browne, whom we have already quoted, had already defined evolution to be undemonstrable and irrefutable.

Irrefutable, we may add, as the wonders of the Durlindana of Orlando, as the journey of Astolphus to the Moon to get back a hero's heart, or as Jules Verne's "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea," or better still, as Ovid's "Metamorphoses." Such is the lot that befell the foundation of the *grandiose* edifice. Let us now see how the theory shielded itself against the attacks of its opponents. First, what became of heredity, appealed to by Darwin and his school as the argument by analogy, the *a pari*, nay, the *a fortiori* argument? Let the sorrowful confession of the Master suffice, in order to dispense with other quotations: "the laws of the transmissibility of peculiarities are entirely unknown. No one can say for what reason a peculiarity verified in the different individuals of different species sometimes is inherited, sometimes is not." (4) *Taceant ranae dum Jupiter tonat!*

Next, what became of variability that contained the physiological proofs? Since all artificial variations are either barren or return to the primitive type, as Blanchard pointed out, so ancestral transformations, we must admit with Bianconi, exist only in the brains of Darwinists, if we only consider that in the thousands of years (thousands and thousands of centuries, Richet wrote, during which the precursors of man were evolved through milliards of milliards of hundreds of milliards of living beings) the organisms of the intermediary stages were in such pathological and formatory conditions as condemned irrevocably to perish all the supposed progenitors of the present species, especially when we consider that the five thousand years that have gone by since the Egyptian mummies walked about perfectly similar

(4) "Origin of Species," p. 12.

in physical characteristics to the present animals, are but a trifle to Darwinists.(5)

And what about the theory of the influence of surroundings? The supposition that the ambient or surroundings, altered by cataclysms or other telluric events, should have put the surviving types in the position of developing latent forms or of acquiring new organs and new instincts, was considered by Cuvier as the most superficial and oddest of all ideas, as if organic bodies were a handful of paste or of soft clay in the hands of a potter.(6) And Lyell, a great promoter of evolution blames Lamarck for giving us *words* and not *facts*, when he magnified the plasticity of organisms and the powerful influence of surroundings.(7)

What of use and non-use? Use, said the opponents, hypertrophies an individual organ just as non-usage does, but such changes are not transmitted by heredity, at least regularly, as Darwin himself had to confess. Why does the ass that has been dealing kicks these six thousand years show no indication whatever that his hind legs are in the least hypertrophied?

And what of the correlation of parts? Darwin himself declared that he had been able to *discover the formula*, but not its proofs. "The nature of the correlation bond is often entirely unknown to us," he wrote, and Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire did not succeed in giving any explanation of the simultaneous change of analogous parts or of parts of the same system.(8) Hence Hart-

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(5) Letter to Charles Darwin.

(6) Cuvier. *Anatomie Comparée*, p. 10.

(7) Lyell. *Princ. of Geol.*, p. 4, C. I.

(8) Darwin. *Loc. cit.*

mann ended by rejecting such a law.(9) And what befell to sexual selection? Darwin wavered as to its probative value, and Canestrini, and Mentegazza, and Hartmann rejected it altogether.

And what are we to say of the embryonic proofs so highly extolled by the Monist Haeckel, *l'enfant terrible* of evolution, to whom Darwin himself wrote: "Your daring makes me tremble." Besides his having been convicted by Van Baern of stealing and falsifying the embryonic plates inserted in his volumes, Bianconi and Secchi completed the lesson by referring him to watches and steam-engines, both of which vary under the hand of the artificer, but the model is ever the same. Yet who ever dreams that a watch may become a steam-engine?

(10) An analogous and not a generic relationship unites all species, the one to the other, writes Calderoni; and Agassiz reminded men that the office of true science is to study the ideas of Supreme Wisdom as revealed in living beings. Finally, what of the geological facts? Stoppani (11) has demonstrated that the scanty discoveries of geology are all in favor of the fixity of species. And Barande said precisely the same, when he stated that the "*medals commemorative of creation*, buried in the strata of the earth are the confirmation of the Mosaic Cosmogony." "Moses," says Ampère, "without the aid of modern science was able to affirm with Divine simplicity what science to-day is obliged to affirm; therefore *Moses is inspired*." Two episodes of a comico-heroic character occurred during the long struggle between the old theory and the new. They were respectively Traube's *artificial*

(9) Hartmann. *Le Darwinisme*.

(10) Secchi. "Unità delle forze fisiche." Vol. 4, p. 257.

(11) Stoppani. "Corso di Geologia." Vol. 2, p. 64.

cell (1874), and Haeckel's *bathybius* (1879), the animal protoplasm, which according to its discoverer, was found in the depth of the sea. But when the learned became aware that Traube's cell was merely *tannic acid and gelatine*, and when Maebius by his experiments and Haeckel himself came to know that what they had believed to be protoplasm was only *sulphate of calcium*, Homeric laughter greeted those futile attempts to find the proofs of the postulate of evolution, i. e., spontaneous generation. It was even more so when the Tyndall's and Pasteur's classical experiments about infusoria confirmed again the old axiom, *omne vivum ex ovo* and induced Tyndall to declare "that no conclusion was more certain in experimental science." (12) "No boundary is so clearly marked, Schopenhauer wrote, "as the line that separates the organic from the inorganic world: it is perhaps the only case in which every bridge is wanting, so much so that here the principle, *natura non facit saltum*, meets with an exception." (13) We pardon the German philosopher for those words *the only case*: the cases, in reality, are as numerous as the orders of being and species; for these as Aristotle said, are like numbers, every unit added changes the species.

Darwinism thus lost credit, while all the philosophic and religious truths it had assailed triumphed; among them Biblical Chronology, too, had its share of triumph, so that the six or eight thousand years which it gives as the age of mankind from the creation of Adam down to us, continue to remain like the Pillars of Hercules which it is temerity to pass.

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(12) Tyndall "Microbes," ch. 5.

(13) See Reusch.

## III.

*The Discomfiture.*

Crushed under the weight of so many objections, which were hurled from all sides in the name of science against his theory, Darwin ended by laying aside, writes Fabiani, *Natural Selection*, which was his Achilles, or the main stay of all his theory, and which for this very reason became the point most attacked. Already in 1870 in his "Descent of Man," he had allowed these significant words to escape him: "I am very far from believing that there are evident proofs for the transformation of species." Later on he could ascertain in the ample supply of facts produced by his opponents, that they were many more than he could wish in support of the old thesis of the fixity and immutability of species. The principle of natural selection once set aside, since all the other elements mentioned above draw all their probative force, if they have any, from it, it is perfectly clear, that by the indirect confession of its author, Darwinism is inevitably condemned to destruction, to be handed down to history as nothing else than a great aberration of the human mind, a monument of unscientific thought.

Once more Samson was crushed under the ruins of the Temple he himself had pulled down. The diffidence of the captain infects the soldier; those who were the ardent champions of evolution one after another made most disheartening declarations, which, if they are not as a matter of fact an absolute reprobation or disavowal of the system, are interpretatively its negation. Lyell wrote to Morlot: "A knight's daring was required to begin to favor the Darwinian system." The theory had been an act of audacity, and audacity has not always success for its

companion. Virchow proclaimed repeatedly before learned public assemblies the scientific nullity of natural selection; that is, Canestrini, more Darwinist than Darwin himself, as Mentegazza qualifies him, stripped the much vaunted system of all pretended certitude, and reduced it to the modest rank of a mere hypothesis. The same thing was done by Spencer, Romanes, Huxley, Vogt, Owen and Wallace, the chief speaker at the London gathering of July, 1908, though to his praise be it recorded he was always a Creationist.

And what of Darwinism at the present hour? It is a dismantled city, a city of ruins and debris, with here and there some columns rising mutilated and askew, the result of assaults from without, and of internecine strife from within.

There stands the Monist Haeckel, the impenitent upholder of unadulterated Darwinism, like an obelisk in the midst of the ruined city. Other lesser figures are there, evolutionists such as Fogazzaro, D'Amalius, Belinck, Le Roy and Corluy, Mivart, Gaudry, Maudin and many others. Father Gerard in *The Month*, for August, 1908, in an article entitled, "The Jubilee of Darwinism," condenses the history of the theory from the religious and scientific point of view. The words with which the article concludes are significant and to our purpose. "It is a grave error," he writes, "to represent, as some are inclined to do, that Darwinism itself has proved able to supply even such a key to the secrets of Nature as its author supposed. . . . As Professor Driesch says in his recent Gifford Lectures, 'we do not know very much about evolution at all—in this field we are just at the very beginning of what deserves the name of exact knowledge,' while 'Darwinism fails all along the line.'"



What profits it, therefore, to pour out a river of ink in behalf of a theory erroneous in its very foundation, impossible to demonstrate, which posterity will look back on as a system *to which men more than the facts were kind?*

Intellectual warfare is never without good results, and Darwinism, by directing minds to an accurate study of nature has made nature better known, has perhaps closed forever the door of the lecture room to the exploded hypothesis that ever and anon had tormented great minds from Anaximander down, to our times, that is for the long space of twenty-four centuries. The history of that deviation of scientific and religious thought has many lessons for us. First of all, our faith is strengthened in the Bible, in the doctrines of the Church, in revealed religion, which, while it is always ready to admit willingly every advance of true science, is equally firm to repel those novelties of doctrine, which contradict even distantly the sacred deposit of faith entrusted to it, and for defence of which it received the indefectible gift of infallibility in its authentic teaching. The Darwinian theory met the fate of all doctrines that go counter to Divine revelation. It has only contributed to make the Divine inspiration of the sacred books shine with greater splendor. The same fate befell Darwin as interpreted by his disciples which had befallen the Egyptologists, the searchers of Pharaonic mummies; the Orientalists, the interpreters of the cuneiform inscriptions, who in the name of science have sought to discredit Divine revelation. "It is madness," wrote Mentegazza, an impartial witness, and a disheartened evolutionist, "to try to use science to destroy faith: they do mutual service to each other and complete each other."

Next, it is subject of lawful pride to the disciples of the

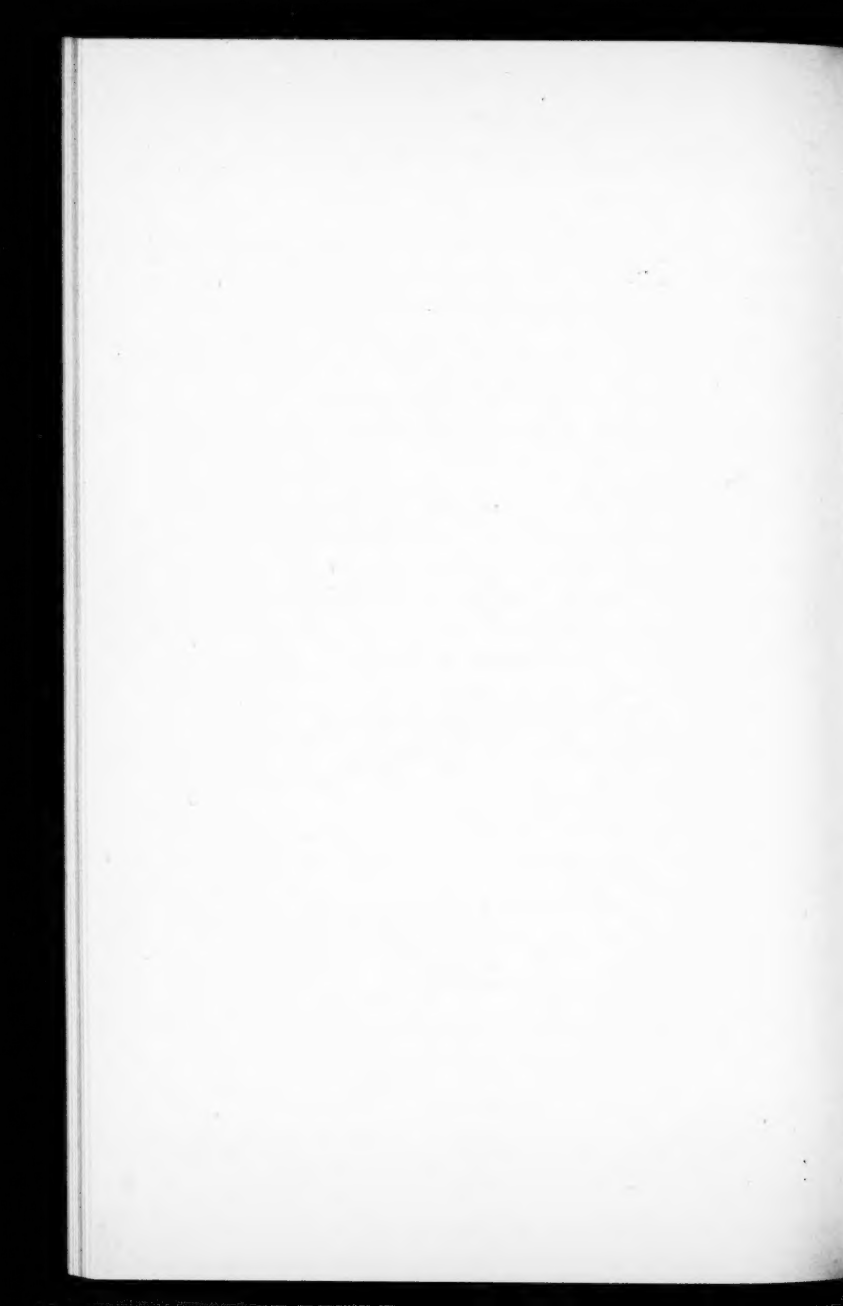
*Master of those who know*, I mean the angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, to see once more that his teaching is a luminous and inextinguishable beacon to Christian schools and a polar star that guides us safely to the port of true progress and saves us from the aberrations of false science. "Every being," wrote St. Thomas, "is constituted in its species according to the place it holds in the hierarchy of existing beings: because species are like numbers, as Aristotle wrote. . . . Now what constitutes the species is fixed and stable (*fixum et stans*) and, so to speak, indivisible . . . (1, 2, 52, 1) . . . Since the creation at the beginning, nothing has been made that is absolutely new, which did not pre-exist either in matter or in its causes or in some other way. (2, 72, 1)." And lest he should be understood to favor a *mediate* or evolutionary development of species (apart from certain *rationes seminales*, of which St. Augustine speaks, and which in reality are germs or spores already existing, but developing as certain conditions favorable to their development are verified), the holy Doctor categorically says that such a theory is *altogether contrary to faith* which teaches us that the universe of corruptible things was created *immediately* by God as, e. g., the first individuals of plants and animals: *Est, sane contrarium fidei quæ ponit multitudinem rerum corruptibilium immediate a Dea causatam; utpote prima individua arborum et brutorum animalium.* (De Ver. 23, a, 5.)

It follows from this that according to St. Thomas, he who tries to Catholicize Darwinism attempts a vain and impossible thing, even with the aid of the new forms and restrictions of the so-called evolutionism, which the bankruptcy of natural selection necessitated like a *Deus ex machina*, such as the multiple philogenetic energy in the

primitive types or the immediate action of God in the slow or rapid transformation of the species. *Plus vel minus non mutat speciem.*

The theory of evolution teaches us to mistrust doctrinal novelties and to reject them firmly as soon as it is shown that either much or little they are in opposition to faith or even to sound philosophy alone. We must do this not through an unreasonable spirit of contrariety, or through a blameable indolence, or through bias of School, but from principle and from conscience, remembering that truth, whether religious or scientific, is immutable and eternal, and that only what is hypothetical can become antiquated, when truth claims the assent of our mind, either by intrinsic or extrinsic evidence, or by that authority which is invested with the prerogative of Divine infallibility, as is that of the Pope and of the Church. *Et hæc meminisse jubabit!*

G. BONETTI, S.J.



**Catholic Federation  
of London**



## **Catholic Federation of London**

THE Catholic Federation of London was formed in the autumn of 1906 for the purpose of drawing together into one organization all Catholics, men and women, of every political party and of every social degree. It has now many thousands of members and a branch in nearly every parish. Similar Federations have been formed in all the big centres of England, and are now, it is hoped, about to be united into one great Catholic Confederation of England.

Up to the present time the Catholic laity have had no organization of defence, nor have they had any organization embracing all sections and localities. There are, of course, admirable societies amongst us for every purpose of piety or charity; but these have not branches in every parish, and they include few, comparatively, in their ranks. In London, with the exception of the reception held by the Archbishop in Low Week, and the annual dinner of the Benevolent Society of the Aged Poor, there is no annual meeting where Catholics, drawn from all parts of London, unite; and attendance at these important festivals is, in point of numbers, far from adequate.

It was essential, therefore, if Catholics were to hold their own, that, sooner or later, some organization such as the Catholic Federation should be formed. In every sphere of active effort, concentration and organization form one main factor of success.

The whole history of modern life reveals this truth. We see it in business, in the daily increasing trusts,

amalgamations and combinations. The political world exhibits the same lesson in the party organizations, whether Conservative, Liberal or Labor. In each case the same process has been going on for the same reason; because union means economy of effort, time and money, and, therefore, aids success. This applies not only to the great political organizations, but to the various sections of opinion which exists and take their members from all parties. Thus we have societies, such as the Anti-Vivisection Society, the Minority Representation Society, the Bi-Metallists' League, the Liberation Society, and countless other groups, not forming fresh political parties, but instituted for the purpose of focusing more efficiently the views of their members. This mode of procedure is found to be effective and convenient, both by these societies themselves and by our legislators. The societies are better able to spread information and gather support; the politician knows to whom to address himself; the party organizers, approaching the matter from another standpoint, are able to gauge more speedily the extent to which opinions are held and what force there is behind them in the shape of organization and votes.

If Catholics were never the subject of any special legislation, if their interests, as Catholics, were never directly and specially affected by the making or by the administration of the law, there might be some grounds for saying that separate organization was not needed; but, there are—as we shall show later—many subjects of legislation and matters of administration which directly affect us, and are of particular interest to us.

It may be urged, however, that Catholics stand in an unique position which renders such an organization un-



necessary in their special case, because, in the House of Lords, they have a large number of Catholic Peers, men of high reputation, to represent their views, and in the House of Commons there are the Catholic Members from Ireland, always ready to exert their great gifts of statesmanship and eloquence in defence of the religion to which they are so much attached; and, over and above all this, there is an united Hierarchy of Bishops who know their mind and are never afraid to speak it.

All this is undoubtedly true, but there has hitherto been entirely lacking any organization which can show politicians what force, in the shape of votes, there is behind these leaders. There has been no organization through which Catholic voters can as a body make their voices heard and their feelings understood. There has been no body which in each constituency can watch the conduct of the Member of Parliament and bring him, if need be, to book.

The plan upon which the Federation is formed is well calculated to further its objects. In every parish a branch of the Association is formed. These branches are brought together in one Association in each electoral area. The electoral areas are, in turn, united by sending representatives to a Central Council of the Federation. Such Central Council, therefore, directly represents each parish in London, and is fully qualified to express the views of the Catholic community as a whole. The resolutions of this Central Council on all important matters are under the direct consideration of our Archbishop, and thus complete union and harmony are secured.

Besides being able to accomplish this good object, the Federation may fulfil two other purposes. First of all, it will bring Catholic laymen into touch with each other,

and will teach them to know each other better. The want of acquaintance between Catholics, one with another, in London, is extraordinary. It is not merely the laymen who are not acquainted, but there are a considerable number of the clergy who are practically strangers to each other, although living at comparatively short distances. Greater union and friendliness amongst Catholics will develop a corporate feeling which should be invaluable.

Another result is that the Catholic layman will gradually learn that he has public, as well as private, duties. As we shall see presently, the smallness of the number of Catholics who take part in public life is astonishing. It cannot be from lack of ability, because, no matter to what profession we turn, whether it be to the Army or Navy, or to the medical or legal professions, the Civil Service or the Press, Catholics play leading parts. We have had, and have, great generals, eminent judges, distinguished doctors, successful civil servants and writers. This backwardness in public life is due to a kind of survival amongst us of the "Penal taint;" a fear that prejudice against our religion is fatal to success; a kind of idea that the good things of life are not for Catholics. The fact is that Catholics have been so long out of public life that they have lost the tradition of it, and the young man with any public ambition stirring in his heart knows not how to set about claiming his rights as a citizen. He is afraid of opening his mouth in public and of coming forward and taking that position to which his talents entitle him.

There are many signs of a desire that the present state of things should end. At every election there appear more young Catholics as candidates for Parliamentary

honors. Every municipal election sees more Catholics, each in his own district, aiming at serving the municipality. Every school of any importance has now its debating society carried on on Parliamentary lines, while the sanction, under due safeguards, of Catholics joining the Universities, brings our most talented youths into the full stream of the national life.

But is the machinery of the Catholic Federation too large or too ambitious for the object in view? Certainly not. Few Catholics realize the great Niagara of Catholic strength in London which is running to waste. The machinery of the Catholic Federation is designed to harness and utilize that power.

I have elsewhere publicly stated that every eleventh man, woman and child whom we meet in the streets of London is Catholic, and this statement, surprising though it may sound, can be justified.(1) This would make the total number of Catholics in London no less than 400,000. This figure shows the magnitude of the interests which Catholics have at stake in the public affairs of London.

We may now consider the nature of these interests, especially in relation to the various great public bodies who make and administer our laws.

So far as the Imperial Parliament is concerned, it has never been in the mind of anybody to form a Catholic party; such a course is too absurd to discuss. The only questions on which Catholics should act as a body are questions which vitally affect their Faith; and we may hope that occasions for any intervention will be few and far between.

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(1) For the figures, see *Catholics and Public Life*, by Hon. Charles Russell (Burns and Oates, Ltd.).

The rules which should govern such necessary intervention, it is submitted, should be:

1. That it should only take place when some really vital question is at stake.
2. That the object aimed at should not be to support the party which is prepared to offer us most, but to ensure that both the great parties should bring their legislation up to what for us is essential.
3. That as regards things which are not essential there should be absolute liberty for each individual to vote as he thinks right.

Any other course would, in my opinion, in the end, tend to alienate us permanently from one or other party in the State, whilst our aim should be to have as many friends as possible in both camps. Any attempt to enforce unity of action on matters not essential merely because one party or the other was thought to be more friendly, or because such party was prepared to bid a little higher for support, would unduly strain allegiance, and lead to ultimate disruption.

There are several questions of practical Parliamentary politics which claim the attention of Catholics.

There is the question of the Royal Declaration, whereby his Majesty the King is compelled, quite unnecessarily, to insult the religion of ten millions of his subjects.

There is the question of the degrading exclusion of Catholics from certain high offices of the State which, nevertheless, are open to members of any other religion or non-religion, be they Hindu, Jew, Nonconformist or Atheist.

There is, over and above all other questions, the question of education, wherein our claim is that a Catholic parent is entitled to have given to his children, out of the

public funds to which he contributes so largely, a religious education of which his conscience can approve.

If we are to keep this right, which has been confirmed to us by so many Acts of Parliament, relying upon which Acts we have spent upon our schools four millions of money, it can only be done at the price of incessant vigilance and effective organization.

Whilst re-affirming the view that the intervention of Catholics as a body in Imperial politics should be rare, it is impossible to pass from the subject without commenting upon the shockingly small number of Catholic Members of Parliament representing British constituencies. If the Catholics of Great Britain were represented in the House of Commons in proportion to their numbers there would be thirty Catholic Members. There are, in fact, only four.

We now come to humbler institutions. London is governed by three great bodies, viz.:

1. Boards of Guardians,
2. Borough Councils, and
3. The County Council.

The Board of Guardians have the exclusive power to carry out the Poor Laws and to relieve the destitute, either by giving our-door relief or by receiving the paupers in workhouses. They contract for the food, clothing, fuel, etc., supplied to the workhouses and infirmaries, and control of these institutions. With them must be grouped the Metropolitan Asylums Board and Sick Asylums managers, because these two bodies consist of members elected by the various Boards of Guardians and of certain members nominated by the Local Government Board. The Asylums Board deals not only with imbeciles, but carries on the Infectious Diseases

Hospital, seaside homes and schools for children, homes for defective children, the training-ship *Exmouth* off Grays, an ophthalmic hospital, and a ringworm school, whilst the Sick Asylums managers are charged with the care of sick paupers not provided for by workhouse infirmaries.

It need not be pointed out that in the various great institutions which are under the care of the Boards of Guardians, either directly or indirectly, there are a vast number of Catholics, not merely as inmates and patients, but as employees, and we have, therefore, a great and direct interest that members of our community (it matters not to what side in politics they belong) should take a share in the public life relating to these bodies.

As a matter of fact, we can claim but fifty out of 824 Guardians in the Metropolis; whereas, if a just proportion were maintained as to population, the number of Catholic Guardians should be about seventy-three.

The work done by our fifty Catholic Guardians is admirable, but great is the need for more. For example, in one London district where there are two Catholic churches, and where thirty-three per cent. of the paupers in the workhouse are Catholics, we have not a single Catholic Guardian! In another district, where there are eighty-eight Catholics in the workhouse, there is not a single Catholic Guardian. In this latter case a Catholic Guardian is sadly needed, for the Catholic paupers are being treated in an unfair and bigoted manner.

This neglect, so far as it is remediable, is not creditable to the Catholic clergy or laity.

We next come to the Borough Councils, with their Mayors, Aldermen and Councillors. There are twenty-nine such Councils.

These Borough Councils are the local sanitary authorities for London, and deal with the construction and maintenance of all sewers and drains (except main drains), sanitary conveniences, factories and workshops, overcrowding, sale of unsound food, the making, maintaining, lighting, watering, cleansing, and regulating of the streets; they provide and manage baths and wash-houses, and control public fountains; they provide public libraries and minor open spaces, and they are the local authorities under the Electric Lighting Act; they also appoint Medical Officers of Health, Sanitary Inspectors and Analysts.

Nothing can better illustrate the unduly small part played by Catholics in public life than the pointing out that, although Catholics form one-eleventh of the population, out of the 227 Aldermen and 1,362 Councillors who make up the Borough Councils of London, only about a dozen are Catholics.

The next great public body is the London County Council, whose duties are well known. It administers an area of 121 square miles, and comprises a chairman, nineteen Aldermen, 118 Councillors, making 138 in all. It regulates the main drainage of London, fire brigade, the parks and open spaces, the bridges and tunnels of the Thames, street improvements. It controls the width of the streets, naming and numbering of streets, structure of theatres and music-halls, artisans' dwellings, tramways; the granting of music and dancing licenses; pauper lunatics, reformatories and industrial schools; the testing of weights and measures; the licensing of theatres, slaughter-houses and cow-houses; the care of historic buildings and monuments; inspection of factories; the administration of the Shop Hours Act, the Employment

of Children Act and the Midwives Act; registration of electors; the registration of motor cars, steamboat service on the Thames. It has delegates upon, and a voice in the administration of, the Water Board and the government of the Thames Conservancy; but, over and above all these, it has to carry out the Education Acts. It has a vast army of engineers, school teachers, medical officers, analysts, surveyors and every kind of skilled artisan and laborer. It has very large powers of borrowing and raising funds, and of sanctioning loans by Borough Councils.

Although Catholics have, as citizens, a tremendous interest in the work of this body, and especially in the administration of the Education Acts, there is not one single Catholic elected member or Alderman.

There is a manifest desire on the part of the large working-class neighborhoods to enter thoroughly into the new Catholic movement, and anybody attending the meetings cannot fail to be struck by the business aptitude and the moderation of tone which has gradually developed. The districts in which progress is slower are chiefly Kensington and Marylebone, where there are great numbers of Catholics of the prosperous middle-class. They are afflicted by the paralysis of prosperity, and seem unable to bring themselves into action. The day may be when attacks may be made upon the Church even more violent than that recently attempted against our schools. Such attacks will find the prosperous middle-class unprepared and defenceless. In vain sheep bleat when the wolf has rushed into their pleasant pasture.

Then they will discover that organization cannot be developed in a moment, then they will learn that pros-



perity and respectability without organization will avail them as little as these qualities have done the Catholics in France in similar situations.

If they now hang back a grave responsibility lies upon them and those who guide them. If they will only, on the other hand, exert themselves and shake off this lethargy and take up their share of public work, they will find their working-men fellow-Catholics only too willing to follow and support them. They will be listened to eagerly, and their voices will carry much greater weight than they themselves suspect. That respect awaits them which the working-man always pays to superior education when he knows the possessor of it to be honest.

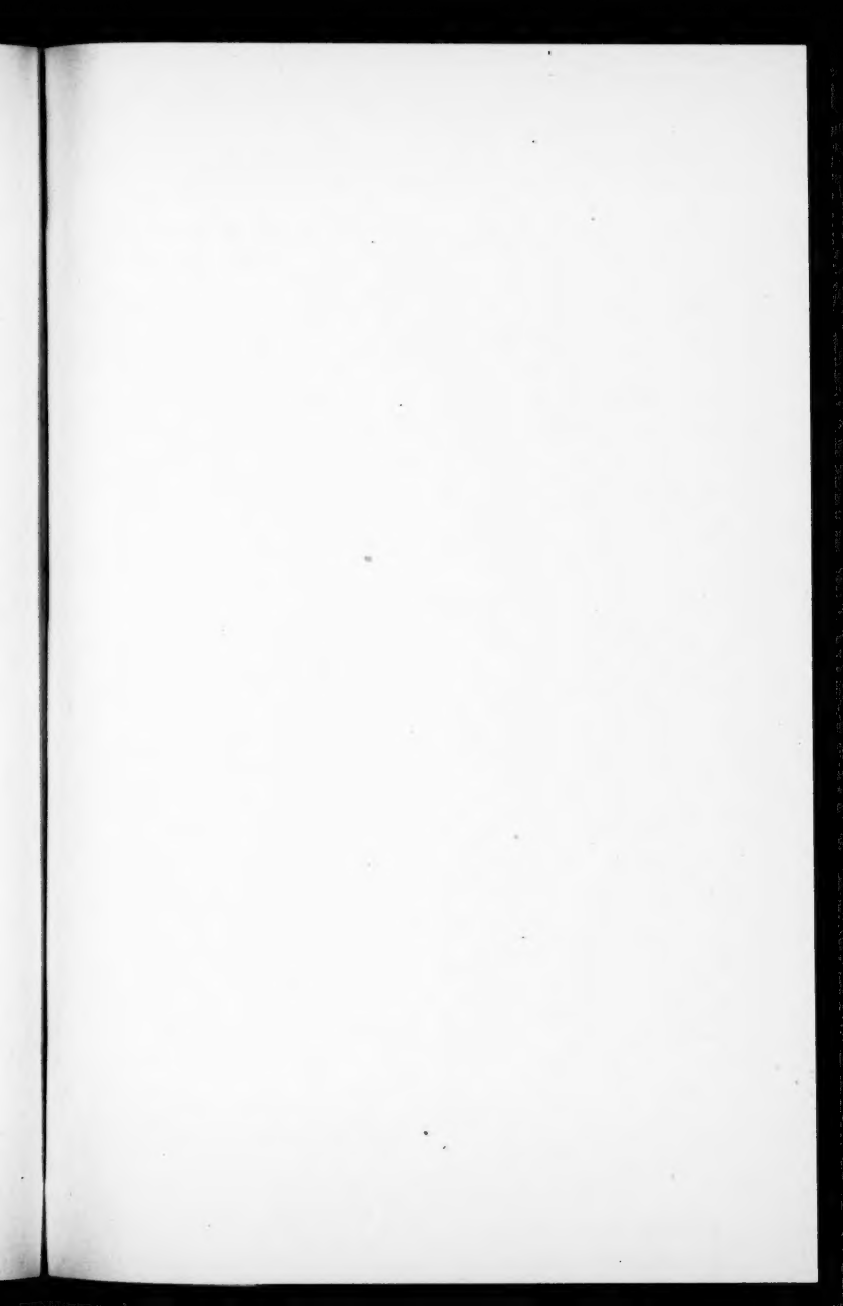
Enough has been said to show what an extraordinary rich field for noble work there is, if only Catholics will come forward and take their share in it. But Catholics must not enter upon the work as mere protectors of Catholic interests. If they do, nobody will listen to them. They must show that they have the interests of the whole community at heart. No man is so unpopular on public bodies as the man who only attends when he has some little axe of his own to grind. They must establish a reputation for solid and unselfish work in all the business of the body they join. Work is an irresistible force, nothing can stop men who work. When they have thus won the respect of their fellow-members, they will be able to protect the interests of their co-religionists.

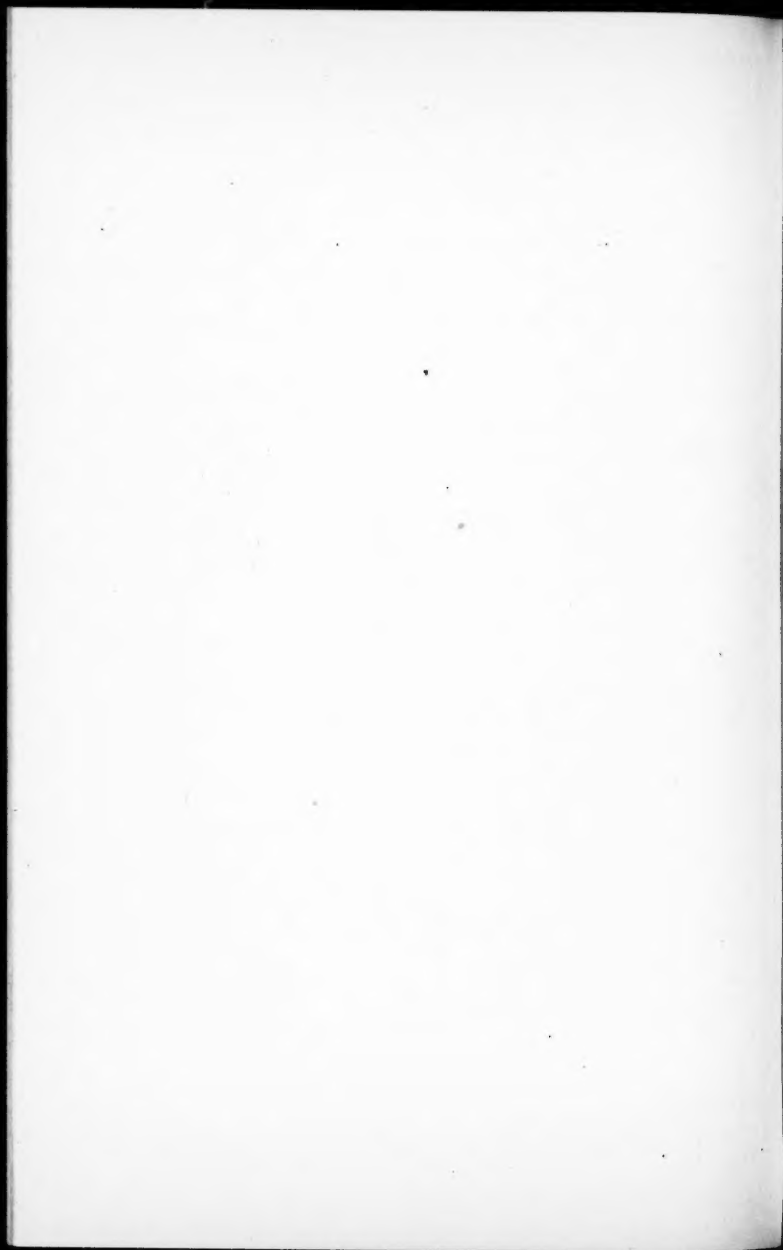
It will be good for Catholics to associate on equal terms with their fellow-subjects. Their doing so will gradually do away with the strong prejudice which, unfortunately, still exists against Catholics. They will do away with the silly idea that Catholics are a nation within a nation. As members of public bodies Catholics will

learn the art of administration, which will be invaluable to them, not only in their private careers, but in the government of their own numerous charitable concerns. Incidentally they will open to their fellow-Catholics a fair share of careers in municipal service now practically closed. They will enlarge the horizon of their outlook on life, and, whilst doing good to others, they will make their own lives more interesting.

HON. CHARLES RUSSELL.

*The Month*, April, '09.





## The Salford Diocesan Catholic Federation(I)



It has been said that no movement can be permanently successful unless it is built upon a public opinion thoroughly satisfied of the need for it; it is certainly true to say that the Catholic Federation can never be permanently successful until it is built upon a Catholic opinion thoroughly satisfied of the need for a Catholic Federation. From the beginning of the movement people have asked, and will continue to ask: "How far does the Federation partake of the nature of a political party, and how far will it make it difficult for me to hold my political opinions?" This is a straight question demanding a straight answer, and the success of the movement depends, to some extent, at least, upon a satisfactory answer being provided.

"How far does the Federation partake of the nature of a political party?" In the first place, the Federation claims to be a Catholic movement, and any movement, to be Catholic, must possess that spirit of comprehensiveness which characterizes the Church herself. The different schools of political thought which are accepta-

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(1) The Salford Federation differs in many respects from the Catholic Federation of London, an account of which is given in the preceding number of the *Catholic Mind*. A comparison of the two societies will show how the same general principles can be put into operation, and worked with success on dissimilar lines according to the needs and circumstances of each locality.

ble to the Church must likewise be acceptable to the Federation, and the members of those schools who are to be found in the Church, will likewise be found in the ranks of the Federation. Are any of those doctrines of Conservatism, Liberalism, Laborism, and Irish Nationalism which are admitted by the Church, to be banned by the Federation? The question only needs asking to answer itself. But, to put the matter clearer, we might ask another question: What would be thought of any of the great political parties of this country—the Liberal Party for instance—if it were to urge its members to belong to one of the other parties? Yet this is precisely the line the Federation takes! The Federation does not aim at dictating the political convictions of its members, but, on the contrary, says to them: If you hold political opinions, get inside the particular party which advocates those opinions; enter that party, not as a Catholic, but as a citizen, and act with it, heart and soul, unless and until that party makes it impossible for you by introducing questions which are hostile to Catholic principles. Then the Federation expects you to run up the Catholic flag, to rally your co-religionists in your party under that flag, to fight the opponents of Catholicism inside your party, and, if necessary, to vote against your party at the poll. Taking the Catholic Labor man as an illustration, we find him fighting against Secular Education and Revolutionary Socialism inside his party for the last three years, and, when necessary, voting against his party. Yet he knows that the Labor Party is bound to justify its existence by working whole-heartedly for those Social Reforms—in many cases they are merely the ordinary decencies of life—which he needs so much. But he also knows,

that although Catholicism in the twentieth century does not ask Catholics to make sacrifice of their lives in amphitheatres, it asks them to make sacrifices in a very matter-of-fact, unromantic way. It is still asking him, Can he drink the Chalice? And he is aware that it is still expecting him to answer the question in the affirmative, even when that question is put in the prosaic form of asking him to vote against his party.

If, then, those schools of political thought which are acceptable to the Church are also acceptable to the Federation, it is also necessary to show that the members of those schools are actually members of the Federation. Otherwise, we might lay ourselves open to the charge that we are confining ourselves to theory. If we take as an illustration the composition of the Manchester, Salford, and District Committee of the Federation—which is the legislative body for that district—we shall find that the three hundred and fifty delegates may be grouped as follows: (a) Irish Nationalists, which is the largest group, consisting of Irishmen born and reared in Ireland, or of Irishmen of the second and third generation who, perhaps, have never seen Ireland, but who hold the principle of Irish Nationalism with conviction; (b) Liberal Group, about equal in point of numbers with (c) Labor or Trade-Union Group; (d) Conservative Group, which is the smallest; and (e) the Non-Political Group, the number of which it is difficult to estimate; it consists of men and women whose political views are not sufficiently pronounced to justify their being labelled, and includes the major portion of the clergy. The existence of these diverse political elements inside the legislative body is sufficient proof that the Federation does not partake, in any sense, of the

nature of a political party, and indicates most clearly that religion is its sole bond of union. The impossibility of imagining any political creed which could hold that legislative body together for twenty-four hours is obvious enough, and it is still more obvious that any body which partakes of the nature of a political party must also possess something in the nature of a political creed. Hence the Federation not only is not, but cannot be political. When the Federation is prepared to propagate political principles—however desirable those principles may be in themselves—which it is not the duty of the Church to propagate, then at that particular moment the Federation partakes of the nature of a political party. At that particular moment, also, the Federation ceases to be a Catholic movement. The *Manchester Guardian*, during the November elections of 1907, said: "We deprecate the formation of political parties upon religious lines." So does the Federation. It went on to say:

But we do consider that religious bodies are exercising their proper functions when they enter into political contests with the object of preventing certain religious principles from being trampled under the feet of combatants.

That description will serve the Federation very well.

We have effectively interfered upon those grounds, and they are the only grounds which justify our interference. If political parties do not desire our entry into political contests, they have the remedy in their own hands by ceasing to menace Catholic interests. The Federation has other work to accomplish, and it is anxious to proceed with it as soon as political parties make it possible for it to do so.

To come now to our second question—"How far will the Federation make it difficult for me to hold my political



opinions?" Again taking the position of the Catholic Labor man as an illustration—What is his difficulty? He finds, we may suppose, an apparent difficulty in reconciling his Labor principles with his Catholic principles. If the principles his party advocates are obviously opposed to his Catholic principles, he is bound to leave his party. But the policy of any political party, at given times, may be out of harmony with the principles of that party. The party may have got into the hands of a clique, who are pushing, not the principles of their party, but their own particular fads: the propaganda of those fads thus becoming the policy of the party at that particular time. This is the present position of the Labor Party, and the position which is occupied by most political parties at some time or other in the course of their history. Of course if the obnoxious policy has become by lapse of time so thoroughly identified with the party programme as to make its removal a practical impossibility, the Catholic member of the party occupies the position that he would occupy if that policy were a principle of the party. But until that position is demonstrated, the Catholic is justified in remaining inside his party, and attempting to upset the policy. That is the existing difficulty of the Catholic Labor man. But that difficulty has not been created by the Catholic Federation. The difficulty has been created by people inside his own party, and the Federation says to him: "The difficulty already existing, we offer to you the Federation which will provide you with opportunities for consultation with your fellow-Catholic, who is in the same position as yourself, and will thus make both of you better able to surmount that difficulty. We have not made it difficult for you to hold your political principles, but, if you are

prepared to stand by your Catholic principles, we shall provide you with encouragement and inspiration to do so. That difficulty only exists on the assumption—surely warranted—that you are prepared to stand by your Catholic principles. If you are not prepared to do so, you have, of course, removed the difficulty yourself.” What is true of the Catholic inside the Labor Party, is true of the Catholic inside any party, and thus the Federation cannot make it difficult for a Catholic to hold his political opinion.

The principle and policy of the Federation, therefore, is the promotion and defence of Catholic interests whenever and wherever those interests need promoting or defending, and, so far as they have any relationship to political parties, the permeating of those parties, not with Catholicism, but with Catholics. It becomes, therefore, if not essential, at least advisable that its members should belong to different political organizations, as far as it is possible for them as Catholics to do so.

Another and more fundamental question remains—Does the Church in this country require an organization? If we examine the condition of Catholicism in those countries where it is publicly organized, as in Germany, Belgium, and the United States, we shall find that Catholicism fully holds its own, but if we turn to a country like France, where Catholicism is not publicly organized, we shall find that it can make no headway against its foes. Indeed, French Catholics would appear to be learning to-day that at least half their troubles arise from their lack of unity in front of the enemy, and, antecedently, from their lack of public organization. Is it a mere coincidence that Catholicism should be successful where Catholicism is publicly organized, and should

not be successful where it is not publicly organized? It is the providential lot of the Church to which we belong to find mighty forces always arrayed against her: forces against which her children must defend themselves. Our aim is defence, not defiance, but we must be effectually organized before we can effectually defend. Surely the education crisis should teach us that it is not wise to wait to train our forces until the crisis comes upon us. We shall be stating the obvious, when we say that Catholic interests demand the formation of one organization, which will gather together the Catholic forces for the promotion and defence of those interests whenever they are unjustifiably attacked by anti-Catholic or non-Catholic forces; an organization which will unite individuals as well as associations, without destroying the individuality of the latter; an organization which will feed all associations and be fed by them; an organization which will demand no more from its members than the word Catholic demands; an organization which will know no distinction of party, class, or sex; an organization which will permanently retain that recently awakened spirit which prompted Catholics to act boldly, promptly, and unitedly in defence of their schools.

This organization we already possess in the Diocesan Federation, and here we propose to examine briefly its constitution and the different ways in which it has rendered service. And first, as to its action. In the autumn before Mr. Birrell's Bill passed the Commons, the Catholics of the Salford diocese felt it incumbent upon them to make a protest. At once we felt the advantage of possessing machinery which was merely waiting to be put into motion. A suggestion from our Bishop, a recommendation by the Executive, a decision

by the District Committee, and we were at once able to penetrate to every corner of the diocese, and set every parish actively at work through the instrumentality of the branch secretaries. The same advantage was realized, and the same process was followed, when the need arose for demonstrating our sympathy for our co-religionists in France; when we organized, within three days of the decision of the Archbishop and Bishops on the Runciman Bill, a protest meeting in every parish in the diocese, and towns' meetings in Manchester and Blackburn, and had the opinions of those meetings placed directly in the hands of His Majesty's Ministers and Members of the House of Commons; when we took fifteen hundred Lancashire men and women to the Eucharistic Congress, and, after standing the racket of Rochester Row, brought them all back more convinced of the need for the Federation than ever they were; and when we took many of the same working men and women on the pilgrimage to Rome to familiarize them with that centre of unity which stands at the back of all Federations.

One of the great obstacles to our progress in the past has been our failure to realize that we have been too parochial. Every Catholic will naturally take a proper pride in his own parish. To preach against that would be like preaching patriotism and forgetting to be patriotic to one's own hearthstone. But pride in one's own parish is consistent with pride in the progress of the Church in another parish. We have acted as if we were oblivious of the existence and welfare of other parishes, and the Church has not gained by such action. Unity, and the forces which make for unity, have been hampered and impeded by the narrowness of the parochial spirit. The Federation is breaking down those unfortunate barriers,

and there are few delegates whose views have not been broadened and whose opportunities for making the acquaintance of their fellow-Catholics have not been increased since the introduction of the movement. One of the most pleasing features of the past, and one of the surest guarantees of success in the future, is the manner in which priest and layman have differed in opinion, without either resenting the right of the other to differ. If we are to present that united front which is so essential to success, we shall do it no less effectively because we have learned in District Committee our lesson of mutual forbearance and mutual goodwill. So far as it was desirable, it was inevitable that parochial idols should be overthrown and narrow parochial ideas exploded, but it has been done without that friction and division which timid souls always expect. It will be remembered that friction has sometimes arisen in the past whenever two or three parishes have been concerned in one electoral area. They have not agreed as to the particular man to whom they should give their united support. The strong parish has succeeded in forcing its will upon the weaker parishes, and the inevitable resentment has resulted. This has been owing to the absence of an authoritative body which could hold the scales between the parishes concerned. The problem before the Federation was—How to preserve the authority of the general movement without interfering unduly with the autonomy of the branch? We decided that in cases of friction, the delegates of the branch or branches concerned should be associated with the Executive for that particular purpose; they could debate and decide; but the common decision was to be binding upon all concerned. We have thus set up a body which can speak with authority; one whose

decision will be more readily accepted by the branches because they themselves have helped to arrive at the decision.

Turning to the organization, we begin with the branch. The branch area is co-extensive with the parochial area. Every Catholic in the parish over sixteen years of age is eligible for membership, and no further qualification is asked than is implied by the word Catholic. It is at the branch meeting that the members exercise their right to discuss every rule of the Federation and express their opinion upon it before it becomes law, and the name of every official in the movement must be submitted to them before he can be elected. They elect the six delegates who, together with the Rector or his clerical nominee, will represent them on the District Committee, and every Catholic representative or member of a governing body who desires Catholic support must first receive the approval of the branch. In this way are recognized the responsibilities and privileges of every parishioner. The branch is authorized to affiliate to itself, in accordance with the regulations provided by the Federation, every other Catholic association in the parish. By this means the branch becomes the common meeting ground for the individuals and associations in the parish, and thus becomes a great centre of unity and source of support. It is the business of the branch to take a survey of the parish, claiming a vote for every parishioner entitled to it, and securing registration of it, collecting the subscriptions of those parishioners who are Federationists, and urging non-Federationists to join the movement. It carries on the work of the Literary and Debating Sections by holding Lectures, Debates, &c., and distributes Catholic literature in a cheap and popular

form. It organizes the Catholic Trade-Unionists in its own area, and acts as local agent for the District Executive for all purposes.

We will ask our readers to accompany the branch delegates to the District Committee, which meets monthly. The area of the District is co-extensive with the Deanery, and, in the case of Manchester and Salford, includes all branches in the deaneries in the Manchester and Salford District. It consists of fifty rectors and three hundred laymen and laywomen representing fifty branches, and knows no distinction of class, party, or sex. Its sole passport is: "A Catholic, elected by Catholics!" It is the legislative body, asserting its rights, under the Bishop, to be supreme in Federation matters, and possesses the power of affiliating Catholic Associations whose areas are co-extensive with its own.

The District Committee administers its affairs through an Executive, meeting monthly, and composed of its own officials, plus the Chairman of permanent Sub-Committees and the Registration Agents of Registration Sub-Committees, together with clergy and laity elected from its own body. The proportion of clergy and laity, right through the Federation, always being as one is to three. This Executive possesses two Sub-Committees dealing with "Finance" and "Organization."

The District Committee delegates different branches of its work to Sub-Committees, meeting monthly, which are as follows:

The Education Sub-Committee consists of six parents, six school-managers, six representatives of local authorities all elected from the District Committee; and six teachers elected from the Catholic Teachers' Guild. It is necessary to note the representative character of that

Committee. Eighteen of its members are by training and practical experience familiar with the working of the education machinery through which the attacks on the Catholic schools are made. Then the Committee brings the Catholic parent into closer contact with the teacher and the Manager, it creates in him a greater interest in education affairs, with the result that his influence will be felt more frequently in those affairs, in the formation of the education authority, and the exercise of his inalienable rights. The need for this Committee will not be removed by the settlement of the Education Question. Our Irish readers will be aware that the spirit in which Irish laws are administered is often quite as evil as the laws themselves; similarly in Education matters we must always be prepared for difficulties of administration. For our part, we found the best justification of the existence of this committee in the statement which was presented, through one of its chief spokesmen, to the District Committee upon the occasion of the introduction of the McKenna Bill, and we would ask, from what source before the existence of the Federation, could the parent have been placed in full possession of all the facts about that Bill twenty-four hours after it had been introduced? Parents attending any branch meeting are now finding it possible, not merely to question the suitability of some of the prizes which their children are receiving from the education authority, but also to have the matter referred to this Committee for enquiry and report. It has appointed experts to reply through the Press to the attacks made upon the Catholic schools, and has made its influence felt in the Board of Education itself. It can inform Catholic parents as to the positions open to their children in the



civil and municipal services, the examinations necessary, and the most suitable schools to attend for preparation. It can point out any dangers that may be concealed in any proposed educational legislation, and it can render assistance to Catholic representatives by supplying them with information.

The Trade Union Sub-Committee, meeting monthly, consists of one delegate from each branch, who must also be a delegate to the District Committee. The latter provision applies to all Sub-Committees. The Catholic Trade-Unionist has already found the need of preventing the Labor Party and the Trade Union Movement from adopting educational and economic systems, which he, in conscience, could not accept. He found himself, also, compelled to pay for the support of representatives who were deliberately trying to bring about the adoption of those systems. His opponents were well organized; he had no organization. Through the medium of this Committee, he was able to start an agitation, after the Belfast Conference, which was carried on from Conference to Congress and from Congress to Conference; he was able to co-operate with his colleagues in every part of the diocese; and, finally, he was able to meet Catholic Trade-Unionists from different parts of England in the conference held at St. Bede's College—the first conference of Catholic Trade-Unionists that we have hitherto known. His agitation has resulted in the Secularist being unable to gain one inch of ground since the opposition started; the vote against Secularism has increased year by year and he has assisted in compelling the Socialist to adopt an opportunist policy towards his own Socialism. The Catholic Trade-Unionist is now in possession of machinery which will inspire and encourage

him in the battle of the future. This Committee also keeps a register of all the Catholic Trade-Unionists in its area, compiled from the registers kept by the branch secretaries.

The Registration Sub-Committees are three in number: Manchester, Salford, and Eccles, each possessing its own registration agent attending the revision courts. It is responsible for the efficient registration of every Catholic voter in the area, and, at times of election, controls the machinery by which the will of the District Committee is carried into effect. It supervises, through its divisional captains, the registration work in each branch, and in many cases, its workers assist in enrolling members and collecting subscriptions. These Committees are composed of two delegates from each branch, and this Committee—like other Committees—expects those delegates to represent particularly its own department of registration in each branch. It is the work of this Committee to provide branches with all the literature and information which they require in connection with registration, and to co-ordinate the work of the branches at headquarters. The importance of this Committee cannot be exaggerated, as it is the medium by which the activities of the Federation are focussed, when necessary, at the ballot-box. One of the advantages of this work being performed by the Federation lies in the fact that the knowledge of registration possessed by a particular branch is thus placed at the disposal of the whole movement.

The Literary and Debating Sub-Committee, meeting monthly, is composed of one delegate from each branch. It is based upon the principle that it is the first business of a minority to get itself understood, and that it can

only do so by providing its members with the machinery by which they can cultivate the faculty of expression. It believes that the Catholic case will gain by being presented to the public by the layman, and not by the priest alone, and it is endeavoring to produce an active and intelligent laity. It is its first duty to receive the Catholic case from the hands of the authorities, and convey it to the people in a popular form. It works by means of a monthly debate or lecture, held at the centre, and a weekly debate or lecture held in each branch. It is the work of this Committee to popularize Catholic Literature by distributing same through the District Committee and the Branch.

The District Committee of Manchester and Salford has its counterpart in the different deaneries of the diocese. These Committees elect clerical and lay representatives to a Diocesan Council with the Bishop at its head. It is a court to which branches may appeal, under certain contingencies, against a decision of a district. It is the organizing force, because it exercises a general supervision over the organization in the area of Federation, it co-ordinates its component parts; and it affiliates all associations whose area is co-extensive with, or, pending the formation of a confederation, greater than its own. It is important to note that the Diocesan Council has passed upon the initiative of a District Committee, the following rule:

Provided always that no branch, nor district committee, nor diocesan council, shall in any way interfere in parochial administration, or in matters having reference, directly or indirectly, to ecclesiastical discipline.

The question of confederation is a question for the future, but the Salford Federation will always assist

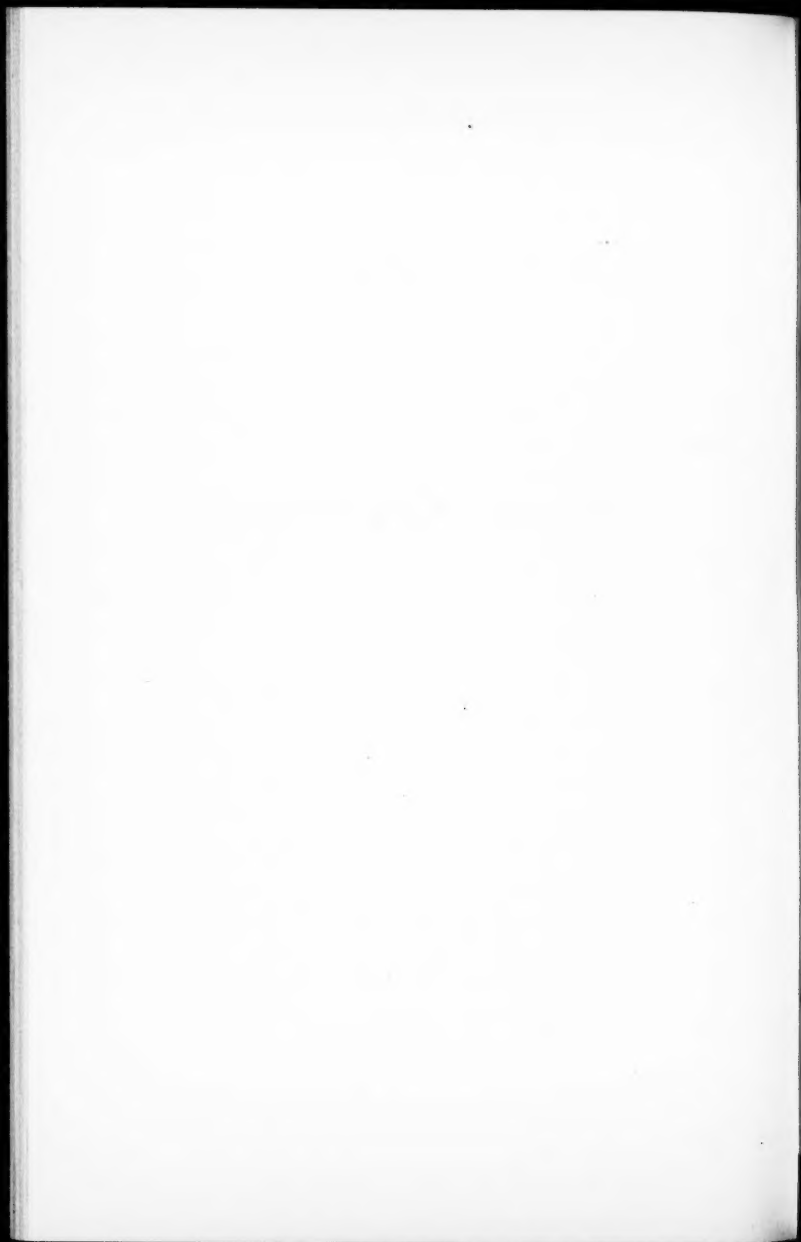
every endeavor in that direction. It believes in the confederating of all federations and the affiliation of all associations, because it believes that wherever general apathy prevails, every federation and association must suffer; whilst a confederation which will stimulate general interest among Catholics must have a beneficial effect upon every federation and association.

This is not the time, nor are we the men, neither is it the business of any one man, to outline the Federation's future. It is sufficient to say that its possibilities are unbounded. While present-day federationists must allow the movement to have sufficient freedom to adapt itself to the needs of the Church as they arise, they must also steer it carefully down a purely Catholic channel: never allowing it to deviate a hair's-breadth from those Catholic principles which it has been called upon to advocate and defend: never allowing it to outrage its own spirit of true democracy by refusing to hearken to the responsible voices of those who alone can make federation, and confederation, possible. The Federation can become a great moral agency, and there are many in the movement, priests and laymen, who have waited too long for the Federation to be easily deterred by any difficulties which might present themselves: priests and laymen who are prepared to give of their best in building up a successful Catholic organization.

(REV.) T. SHARROCK } *Secretaries.*  
T. F. BURNS }

*The Month*, May, '09.

## **Calvin's "Conversion"**



## Calvin's "Conversion"



### I.

In the quiet ecclesiastical town of Noyon, and in an attractive roomy house there, on the Cornmarket, near the Cathedral and the Chapter House Cloister, John Calvin, the future leader of French Protestantism, was born July 10, 1509, of a well-to-do Christian family. His father, Gerard Cauvin, (1) was an ecclesiastical lawyer, or business man for the clergy, and his mother, Jeanne Le Franc, seems to have been a God-fearing woman. One of the boy's god-parents was Canon Jean de Vatines, and he was baptized in St. Godeberte's Church. What was he to become one day? He himself tells us. "I renounce the chrism," said he to Beza, "but I hold on to the baptism." (2) The Calvin house has been destroyed (3); the family no longer exists.

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(1) Calvin is the duplicate of the latinized form of this patronimic, namely, Calvinus.

(2) The. Beza "Vie de Calvin," edit. Franklin. p. 8.

(3) "The house was condemned and entirely pulled down," says Desmay, quoted by Doumergue. "Remarques sur la vie de Jean Calvin tirées des Archives de la Ville de Noyon, 2 sqq." p. 8. On the site stands the modern Hotel de France. See also M. Abel Lefranc, "La Jeunesse de Calvin," p. 3. On the other hand M. Weiss thinks that the house was not entirely destroyed, and in support of his view he quotes a tradition at Noyon which points out the room where Calvin was born. "Bulletin de la Societe d'histoire du protestantisme, 1897. La Maison ou est né Calvin, p. 371." What is the value of this tradition? How are we to prove its continuity? After the troubles of the *Ligue*

If his work still remains even in a crumbling state, his memory evokes but scanty sympathy or official commemoration. This indifference is unconcealed. To celebrate the fourth centenary of the reformer it was not easy to get committees together, and the preparations made showed no abounding zeal. Geneva, which in 1835 had refused to erect a grateful inscription to Calvin in the Cathedral of St. Peter, would entertain the idea of an international monument to "the Reformation," but not to the "person of Calvin, . . . not to the man but to the idea"—"an unpersonal monument" to recall the memory of the reformers, and the influence they have exercised on the modern world.(4) Whatever official

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memories were already so confused that Cardinal Alexander de Medicis on a visit to Vervins, apropos of the 1598 treaty of peace, was brought to the village of Pont L'Évêque, Gerard Cauvin's birthplace, and shown there the house where John Calvin was born (Le Vasseur *Annales de la Cathedrale de Noyon*, p. 1151). In any case it is more than probable that the house was destroyed, out of hatred to Calvin by the members of the *Ligue*. (Doumergue "Jean Calvin" t. I, p. 9; A. Lefranc, p. 5). Would they have been likely to spare Calvin's room?

"It was rebuilt by a man named Artois . . . a year afterwards he was hanged before its door," says Desmay, *ibid*.

(4) "Programme du concours international ouvert par l'Association du Monument de la Reformation a Genève. (*Bulletin*, 1908, p. 109 etc.)

It should be noted that the programme drawn up by the committee does not give the monument any religious signification, but treats it as a social and political symbol. Moreover, the churches had to be appealed to over and over again and reminded that this was not the "act of a party, nor of any particular church, but a testimony of Protestant solidarity and of international and inter-ecclesiastical gratitude for the benefactions" received from the fathers of the Calvinistic Reformation. (*Bulletin*, 1908. p. 386.)



praise he has received has been given to his writings. In France, thanks to the generosity of Marquis Arconati-Visconti, preparation is being made to re-edit, in part to begin with, the text of the "Institution" of 1541, which is so important from a literary point of view. In Germany a translation is to be made of 670 annotated letters giving matter for an autobiography of Calvin. In Geneva they are to re-edit a few small works in French in the name of the Company of Pastors, besides a translation of Walker's "Life of Calvin." Nothing more.(5) Such is the strict limit of Calvin's popularity among the disciples who long since threw off the master's yoke, and who kick impatiently against bearing his name.

Those of us who remember the enthusiasm with which Germany celebrated the fourth centenary of Martin Luther will be struck by the contrast. The explanation lies in the characters of the two men, and more especially in their rôles as reformers. The influence of the one acted in a sense inverse to that of the other. Certainly the name of Calvin calls up no idea of rejoicing, and this consideration undoubtedly is in a measure responsible for the coldness which characterized these jubilee celebrations. But since it is less the man than the reformer that is in question, it must be admitted that the religious work of Calvin, unlike that of the Saxon, did not hold within itself the germ of life and stability. By unchaining license and appetite, by making the struggle against the Church a racial issue, by the apotheosis of the natural spirit, and by the sacrifice of religion to religiosity, Luther, in his day, got in touch with the secret aspirations of a whole people; because of him modern Ger-

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(5) cf. *Bulletin*, 1909, p. 5 etc.

many is what it is to-day. Above all he knew how to pose as a prophet and a reformer, to captivate as a religious leader, and to disguise his apostasy under a pretence of a return to the primitive Church. Moreover he knew how to subordinate in his words and often in his deeds, his own interests to the general welfare.

Calvin had neither his daring nor his skill. By nature Calvin was both timid and violent, unprincipled, methodical and active, firm of will and haughty of disposition, but heartless and self-centered; he was in no way qualified to excite enthusiasm among crowds, to lead them, to point out the way, and stir up revolution. His talent lay in organizing by bullying. Hence he was the political head of the Reformation and not a leader of souls. He did not even retain a shadow of religious feeling. He drew up plans, he laid down rules, and above all he broke down wills without having it appear that he was in any way responsible. His was a government by the few in the interests of one alone. Calvin was there at the helm, but well within the shadow of the wheel.

Such as Calvinism was at its zenith, so was it at its birth. And in order to understand its character and tendencies we must go back to its beginnings, to that mysterious evolution which took place during Calvin's life, and which led him to plan a new form of Protestantism, a reformed reformation, not deviating in principle from its prototype, but taking immediate effect.

Around this supposititious 'conversion' of Calvin, as the supreme event of his life, the most interesting works of the Calvinistic cycle turn.(6)

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(6) See especially: L. Bonnet "Jeunesse et conversion de Calvin" (*Revue chrétienne*. 1855); P. B. "Calvin's Conversion," London, 1866; A. Broegner, "Etude sur la jeunesse et la conver-

They differ in conclusions according to the different points of view from which they are written; but no proof based on actual texts has yet been given that Calvin in going over to Protestantism was acting under purely religious motives. On the contrary, it seems clear that the reformer, jealous of his own glory and seeking his own interests, calmly calculated the outcome of his apostasy, and that flattered with the idea of being a leader as well as nervous as to the cloud under which he was at the time, far from being as M. Doumergue describes him, "bronze molten by the fire of divine love," like the practical man that he was his decision was based on quite other considerations, and actuated far less by a love for truth, than by motives of self-seeking.

Unlike Luther, who was always willing to discuss his religious worries, and pile up information about the smallest details of his 'conversion,' Calvin never thought it worth while to enlighten his contemporaries on this important chapter of his life, nor to give posterity the faintest glimpse into the workings of his soul. All that he has said on the matter in the "Préface du Commentaire des Psaumes," consists of these few words: "By a sudden conversion God bent my soul to obedience." (7) He does not say when or where or under what circumstances, and stranger still, in all the letters written during his younger days, even in those written to his bosom

sion de Calvin," Montauban 1873; Abel Lefranc "La jeunesse de Calvin," Paris, 1888; Doumergue "Jean Calvin," t. I, Paris, 1898; Muller "Calvins Bekehrung"; (Philologist-historische Klasse, 1905, Heft II, p. 188). There is moreover an excellent chapter in *Kampfschulte: Johann Calvin*. Bonn, 1888.

(7) "Opera" t. xxxi, p. 22. "La Lettre à Sadolet" often quoted apropos of Calvin's conversion, is rejected by Muller, op. cit. p. 243.

friends, he maintains the very same reserve. Consequently the historian has had to fall back on induction and conjecture, with the result that the conclusions arrived at are infinitely various. In any case we may set aside the altogether untenable hypothesis that his extreme youth, or youthful wildness is responsible for his leanings towards heresy. Desmay, who preached the Lenten Sermons in the Cathedral of Noyon, and who carefully consulted the archives of the town, mentions in his chronicle a document dated May 6, 1527, to the effect that on a complaint being made to the general chapter by its promoter, John Calvin, holder of a benefice, "was declared contumacious." "Since contumacy was involved," says the chronicler, "it is easy to conclude that even then this little serpent was already beginning to sting the bosom of Holy Mother the Church who fed him; the liberty she allowed him had already led him to forget the oath he took the day he became a chaplain" ("Archives curieuses," p. 389). The date of this complaint being January 16, 1526, Calvin's earliest revolt against the Church must be set down as 1525. And concerning this judgment the testimony of Le Vasseur must be quoted: "I have learned from the elders of Noyon, that while John Calvin was yet a child the egg gave promise of what the chicken was to be" ("Annales" t. III, p. 1170). No doubt it was to these two texts that Audin referred contrary to all the laws of criticism, when he asserted that "at the age of fourteen John had already read some of Luther's works," and that "doubt, then unrest, and finally torment, had entered into his soul" ("Histoire de Calvin," p. 14. Paris, 1843). These deductions are purely arbitrary. Calvin in 1523 was still a child, and Lutheran books, in any case hardly known in France,

were far beyond his means.(8) In that very year he was going with Montmor's children to Paris to study at the de la Marche College, where he began in the fourth class, which studied grammar and the elements of Latin.(9)

It is more than probable that the Montmors would not have been so friendly towards him had he been under a cloud in any way, and if they chose him as a playmate and school fellow for their children it was apparently because of his exceptional brilliancy as a pupil. At Paris he lived with his uncle Richard, "a very honest man," says Papire Masson, who knew him, "who never joined the sect although Calvin's brother Anthony tried to influence him to do so" (*Papirii Massonis Elogiorum*, p. 411. Paris, 1638. Pars II<sup>a</sup>). In any case the con-

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(8) Audin draws a very curious picture of Calvin at this time. He pictures him at 12 years of age as thin and worn of body, "giving promise already of a fresh, vigorous spirit, quick at repartee and daring in attack; abstemious in food either as a preventive of chronic headache, or to keep the mind more active for writing, studying, and memorizing." It is clear that this portrait, borrowed from Florimond de Raemond, may be that of the student at Bourges, but not that of the school boy of the College des Capettes at Noyon.

It is a matter of deep regret that Audin's work, which is more in the nature of a pamphlet than of sound history, is still quoted with authority among Catholics.

(9) "Verum etiam magis, quod domi vestrae puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis initiatus, primam vitae et litterarum disciplinam, familiae vestrae nobilissimae acceptam refero." Praefat in Senecam, ad Sanctiss. et sapientissimum Praesulem Claudium Hangestium, abbatem divi Eligii in the "Corpus Reformatorum," t. v. p. 6. The Montmors were a branch of the Hangest family, one of whom, Charles de Hangest, occupied at the time the episcopal see of Noyon.

demnation in contumacy proves nothing against John who did not live in Noyon and whose interests were in his father's hands. It harmed him so little that we find him in the year 1527, on September 27, obtaining from the chapter through Canon Fauvel the parish of Marteville, an unique favor for a young cleric only eighteen years old. Desmay in his usual violent way blames "the gentlemen of the chapter" for having given "a cure of souls to a man they had condemned in contumacy, and who was full of youthful follies and indiscretions" ("Archives curieuses," p. 209). But it must not be forgotten that the Noyon chapter was ever vigilant in unmasking heresy, and that as early as 1526 it had taken exceptional measures to guard the orthodoxy of the faithful against the errors of Lutheranism.<sup>(10)</sup> Is it likely that they would have been caught napping at this particular time?

Moreover, nothing authorizes us to believe that Calvin had led a riotous life such as is attributed to him on the vaguest of authority by some of his adversaries. The College of Montaigu, where he studied from 1524 to 1528, was a school that edified all Paris after its reformation by Standonk. From 1504 it had been under Noel Beda, the intrepid opponent of Lutheranism, and had maintained with excessive zeal his stern opposition and iron discipline.<sup>(11)</sup> Pupils and masters alike were noted for their piety; and young Calvin was famous among

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(10) A list of the principal errors of Luther, with a refutation thereof, was posted up by the order of the Canons, in the cathedral choir.

(11) Félibien "Histoire de Paris," t. III, p. 727 sqq.

Thurot "Organization del' enseignement dans les Universités au moyen âge" *passim*.

them for his censorious disposition, so much so that he earned the nickname *The Accusative*, which stuck to him for a long time.(12)

At Orleans and at Bourges he left the reputation of being a great student, passing days and nights over books of law and literature, and living a very secluded life. Theodore Beza, who had known him at Bourges, and who lived an unbridled life of pleasure, remarked the correctness of Calvin's conduct. "As to his morals, he was above all very conscientious, hating vice, and given up to the service of God, as we used to say then" ("Vie de Calvin," opera. t. XXI, p. 54). And Calvin himself tells us many years afterwards that he was too stubbornly wedded to the superstitions of popery ("Comment in Ps.," opera.—Corp. Reform., t. XXXI, p. 22), and we have documentary proof "that he fulfilled his religious duties" with scrupulous exactitude.(13) Finally, Florimond de Raemon, so ready to assail heresy, pays this justice to Calvin: that his morals "were more regular than Luther's, and that he gave evidence from his early youth that he was not enslaved to the pleasures of the flesh and the table as Luther had been."(14)

The chief complaint against him, and one repeated by

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(12) Le Vasseur *op. cit.* p. 1158; Kampfschulte, *loc. cit.* p. 224. cf. Quicherat "Histoire du College de Sainte Barbe," p. 211.

(13) Kampfschulte, *op. cit.* p. 224. No one knows where Audin finds authority to affirm that Calvin, as soon as ever he came to Paris, joked about his uncle's religious practices, because he went to daily Mass in his parish, fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, said the Rosary, and kept Quatuortemps. ("Histoire de Calvin," p. 16.).

(14) "Histoire de l'hérésie de ce siècle," p. 884 etc. "He spoke little: and what he said was of a serious and definite turn. He disliked company, and sought to be alone." *Ibid.*

serious authors on the authority of Bolsec, is that at Noyon he was branded with a hot iron for having been guilty of an abominable crime in that town.<sup>(15)</sup> The truth is that no such branding ever took place and that he was guilty of no such crime. Doubtless what gave rise to the legend is that by a strange coincidence there was, during Calvin's lifetime, but after his flight to Geneva, another John Calvin, also a chaplain at the Cathedral, who incurred many condemnations for immorality, was whipped with rods by order of the chapter and finally interdicted. Jacques Desmay mentions very particularly, under the date 1556, "a chaplain-vicar named John Calvin"; and Jacques Le Vasseur in his "*Annales*," in order to distinguish the heresiarch from his namesake, and to avoid all misunderstanding, tells the whole story under the lengthy caption 'Concerning another John Calvin, chaplain-vicar of the same church of Noyon, but not a heretic.' "After John Calvin," he says, "had played false to faith and fatherland, another arose of the same name, twenty-eight years later, to keep his memory green, his rival in morals though not in heresy, and was given a vicar's chapel in our choir which he did not long retain, as he was soon dismissed for incontinency, though he had been punished for the same many times previously. An account thereof may be found in the transactions of December 23, and January 2, 1552" (Jacques Le Vasseur "*Annales ou Antiquites de l'Eglise de Noyon*," t. III, p. 1170. Paris, 1634).

It is beyond doubt that the similarity of names led to the confusing of the two men. The founder of Cal-

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(15) Bolsec, "Vie de Calvin." Chap V.: "Comment Calvin est flestry et marqué d'un fer chaud sur l'épaule à Noyon" (*Archives curieuses* t. v. p. 312; etc.)



vinism had left Noyon twenty years before this; but his memory and that of the excommunicated curate must have very soon become mixed in popular imagination. Because of his very notoriety he inherited the bad reputation of his namesake.

It is therefore pretty certain that the defamatory accusations against Calvin during the time he was a Catholic are founded on the merest rumors, and are easily explained away. There are no documents in support of them, as J. Le Vasseur expressly states. Here is what he says on the subject: "Allow me, dear reader, to pass over his crimes while abhorring them, not to hunt after them but to fly from them, and be satisfied if I give you what I have learned on the spot without curiosity to learn further. Master Jacques Desmay, Doctor of Theology, writing on this matter, says that while he was preaching the Advent and Lenten sermons at Noyon in 1614 and 1615, he made scrupulous inquiries into the life and vices of this discredited man (Calvin) and discovered nothing further" (*op. cit.* t. III, p. 1162).

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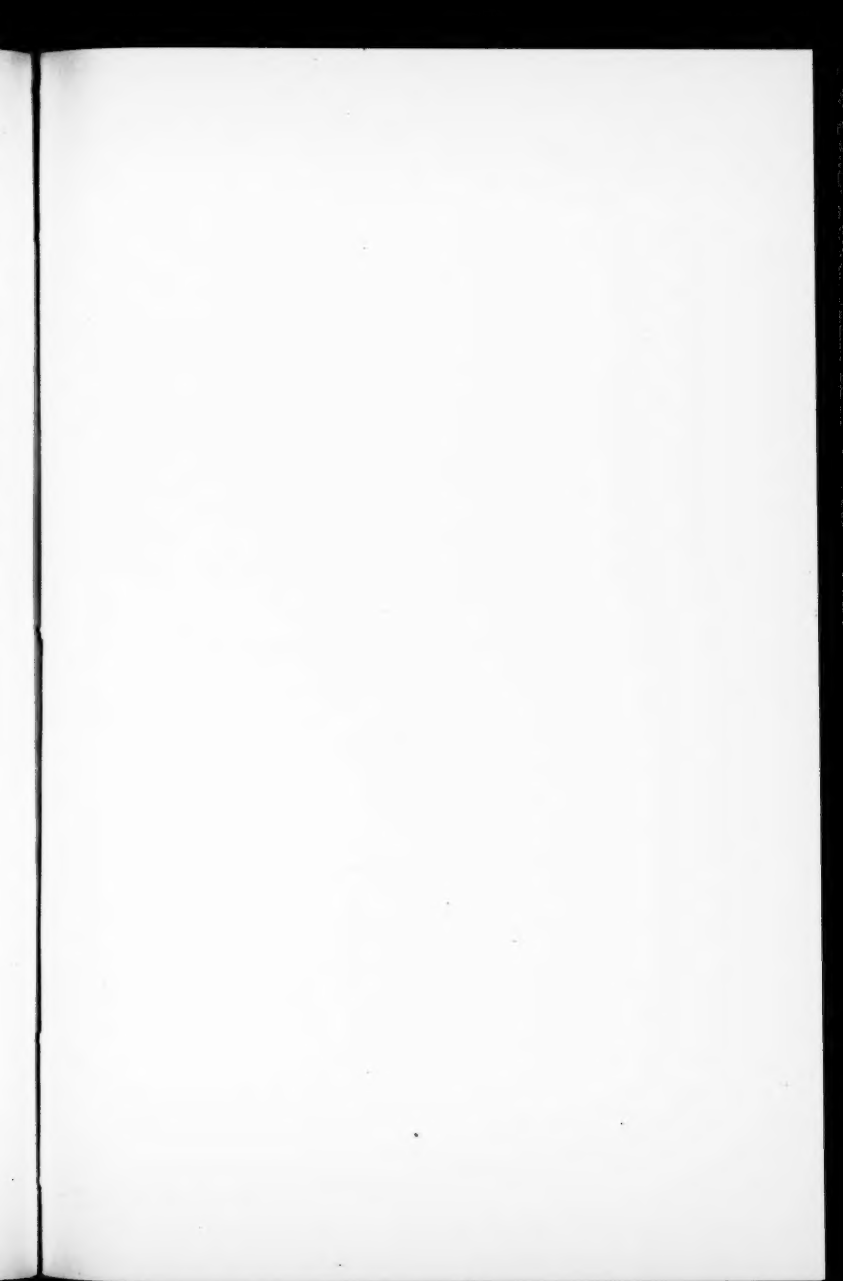
Protestant historians have not failed to explore less dangerous paths, and seek a more plausible motive for his conversion; and they found it in Calvin's natural affinity with Protestantism, in the spontaneous attraction of virtue towards truth. In a cleverly written, and still authoritative work, M. Abel Lefranc set out bravely to uphold this view. Applying more or less to Calvin his own theory of Predestination, Lefranc shows us the son of Gerard Cauvin, predestinated from on high by his nature, his education, his tastes, and his surroundings, if not actually to write in 1535 "L'Institution Chretienne," and to immediately become at Geneva the re-

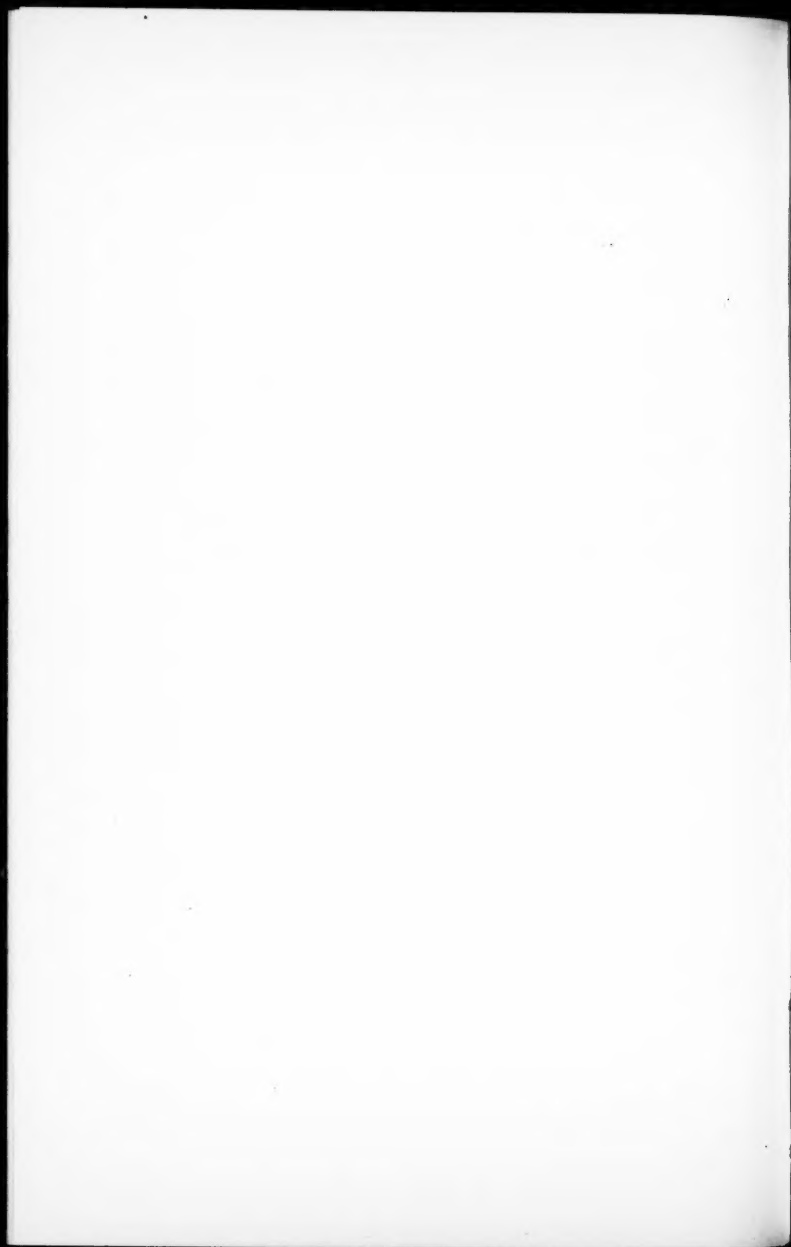
former of Lutheranism, at least "to be won over to the ideas of the reformation" in order to twist them in turn to his own idea.(16)

PAUL BERNARD, in *Études*, July 5, 1909.

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(16) "Might not Calvin have been influenced by all this rather than by a few passing conversations at Bourges? Is it not logical, in face of what we have related, to attribute to the ideas of the Reformation a preponderating part in Calvin's conversion? The soil had been well prepared: his stay at the Universities only completed the work which had begun at home in the family circle. The truth is that long predisposed by his character, prepared by his upbringing and home surroundings, he did not frankly declare himself a Huguenot until a chain of circumstances drove him almost against his will, and, so to speak, forced him to do so." (*La Jeunesse de Calvin*, p. 22, 41.)





## **Calvin's "Conversion"**



## Calvin's "Conversion"



### II.

This strange method of interpreting facts, of separating philosophy from history, claims our attention all the more readily because of the hold it has got, and because M. Doumergue in his learned volume on the life of Calvin has strengthened that hold for many a long day. Protestant criticism seems not to be able to do justice to the question: and for this very good reason. First of all, Calvin was a native of Picardy, and therefore Protestant at heart; for, if the Picards did not invent Protestantism they have always practised it. And this it would seem was what was in M. Lefranc's mind when he wrote "No race has pondered so deeply over emancipation and freedom, nor labored so strenuously for them. And no people are more inclined to active revolt than the Picards," and again: "It is worth noticing that the two opposing movements, that of the French Reformation and its fiercest opponent the *Ligue* began in the same country. One might say that the debate-loving Picard must always pick holes in his own arguments as soon as he is agreed with. He is always on the opposition. The fever for arguing carries him away despite himself. But he is neither sceptic nor dogmatist. These Southerners of the North as Michelet, one of themselves, called them, must be always on the move" ("La Jeunesse de Calvin," p. 23, sqq.). Another thing worth noticing is that not only was Calvin a Picard of Picardy, but a Picard of Noyon. Now, Noyon is the very essence of Picardism. "No town is so truly Picardian as Noyon. No town has so thoroughly realized that mixture of discontent under

restraint, and of stubborn dogmatism which is the characteristic of the country" ("La Jeunesse de Calvin," p. 25).

Being a native of Noyon, himself, M. Abel Lefranc is fitly qualified to judge his compatriots. And it is important to notice that the majority of the great Reformers came from Picardy: Le Fèvre, Roussel, Vatable, Olivetan, Laurent de Normandie, Crespin, J. Macaud, not to mention Ramus. No doubt other explanations beside that of race might be given for this curious fact, for instance, association, friendship, etc. Since Calvin's time, and even in his time, Picardy has not been fertile in Protestantism: hence it is not to any virtue in its soil or in its race that we must rightly look for even a partial explanation of Calvin's conversion.

Far less is it to any direct family influence. M. Lefranc claims that his grandfather was a sailor, and therefore adventurous by nature. Granted; but what does it prove one way or another?

The argument from the difficulties that cropped up between Gerard Cauvin, or Charles, his eldest son, and the Chapter is much more specious. The trouble began in 1523 about the time John left Noyon for Paris. He had the consent of the Chapter to do so but the canons did not mean to leave the two brothers during their absence from choir, in the full enjoyment of their benefices. John by not appearing at the general Chapter meetings of 1526 and 1527 incurred a first penalty by no means heavy. Soon afterwards he was promoted to the parish of Marteville. But a more serious matter had already arisen between Gerard Cauvin and the Chapter. He had been ordered as procurator to settle up the affairs of two chaplains, but the canons could not get a balance-sheet



from him. Over and over he was censured for this; he was given a last warning in 1528, and finally excommunicated. It had been a long struggle, and it led to recriminations. Crusty and dull-witted Charles quarreled in 1829 with a process-server who brought him a summons from the Chapter; he lost his temper and struck the cleric, and was excommunicated in his turn. Meanwhile Gerard Cauvin died June 27, 1531, in peace with the Church. The Chapter removed the interdict against him on condition that the required balance sheet be forthcoming, and he was buried in consecrated ground.

In relating all this M. Abel Lefranc seems to exaggerate the bearing of events. Litigations of a like nature between ecclesiastics were unfortunately but every-day occurrences at that epoch, and constituted one of the curses of the Church of France.

Bishoprics, monasteries, priories, dignities, prebends, cloistral offices, parishes, curacies, chaplaincies, everything was dragged into the courts. And as it often happened that the plaintiffs gave away, bought or sold their rights, the trails were endless and unpreventable. They were carried to every court, to the great council, to Parliament, to the Court of Appeals, to the local sessions, to the Roman Curia, to the archbishops' court, or that of the priory or diocese itself as the case might be. Elections, collations, registrations, gifts, everything concerning a benefice was disputed and argued over. For instance, Hallé and d'Ambroise (who became an archbishop or a cardinal) began their ecclesiastical fortunes with a trial. (Imbart de la Tour. *Les Origines de la Reforme* t. ii, p. 234.) By reason of the great number of benefices at their disposal, Chapters were painfully guilty in this respect. Between canons, beneficiaries and lawyers it

was an eternal ebb and flow of "torts, monitions and censures hurled at each other's heads by way of crushing rejoinders. . . In spite of injunctions from Parliament they posted up bulls, placards, and defamatory libels at the church doors, or sent out the bell-man to cry them in the market squares. The number of attempted excommunications fulminated by the litigants and their supporters is beyond counting." (*Ibid.*, p. 237.) But no one ever thought of being astonished at such a state of affairs then, nor of reforming these abuses to which the public had become entirely accustomed.

The steely soul of John Calvin must have been all the less "shocked," in the Protestant sense, by these family quarrels, as they involved a question merely of funds and not of doctrine. (cf. Lecoultré, *op. cit.*, p. 14. The author rightly points out "the artificial character" of M. Lefranc's historical methods.) Indeed, so little was John suspected of having such feelings that a few months later some of the canons were thinking of appointing him "official," *i. e.*, judge in matters concerning faith. He was then only 22 years old. And his intrinsic merit, apart from all family influence may have distinguished him for this important and delicate post.

Enough has now been said to show that family influences must have counted for nothing or for very little in Calvin's "conversion." (17)

17 [True, Charles Calvin was suspected of heresy in 1534, because of an erroneous proposition he upheld, and soon afterwards he became a Protestant. But at that time John Calvin had already seceded. Most likely his example led away his brother. As to Charles' outbreaks of rage, they were in no way startling to his neighbors. In those days the inferior clergy were not always examples of good manners or of evangelical meekness. cf. Imbart de la Tour t. II, p. 290.]

Tracing back the past, then, we find the beneficent influence of a pious mother who brought up her son in the practice of devotion, and brought him to processions and pilgrimages. Gerard Cauvin too was a churchman in every sense of the word, closely connected with the canons, and even during his fiercest fights with the Chapter (18) he had but one wish, namely, to see his son John a priest, because of the lad's remarkable piety (19), so that it is drawing on the imagination to describe him as *par excellence* "a man against authority."

The truth is his opposition was not temperamental, but arose solely from financial difficulties: at this time Gerard Cauvin was insolvent (20). It is, therefore necessary, if

18 [In 1530, Canon Fourcy, former rector of the University of Paris, and V. G. of the Diocese of Cambrai, interposed in favor of his sons to secure an exchange of the chaplaincy of la Gesine between John and Anthony. It was Canon Fourcy again who was delegated by the Chapter, no doubt as being a friend of the family, to state the case in the charge of heresy brought against Charles. (A. Lefranc, *op. cit.* p. 69)].

19 [From the beginning his father had intended him to study theology. He saw his natural bent that way, as even from an early age he was of a wonderfully pious disposition, and severely censured all the vices of his companions. Th. Beza "Opera" in "*Corp. Ref.*" t. XXI, p. 22].

20 [M. Lefranc goes to great pains to prove that Gerard Cauvin was in easy circumstances. "It is well to know," he writes, "that the notary of the Church of Noyon was not a meanly-salaried middle-class official" (p. 7.) "It is time to get rid of the legend which pictures Calvin as a sort of poor scholar, brought up and helped along by charity. It gives an utterly false idea of Gerard's social standing and independent spirit." (p. 13.) It is quite enough to remember that Gerard Cauvin was the son of a boatman at Pont l'Evêque, and that his wife, Jane Lefranc, was the daughter of an innkeeper at Cambrai. On both sides the family riches could not have been

we wish to link exterior causes with John Calvin's change of religion, to seek them elsewhere. M. Lefranc, and after him M. Doumergue, lay great stress on the ecclesiastical disputes at Noyon and the progress of the new ideas in that town.

Bishop Charles de Hangest, nephew of the Archbishop of Rouen, George d'Ambroise, had just handed over to his own nephew, John de Hangest, the bishopric of Noyon. Questions involving some trivial matters of discipline or privilege soon arose between the new bishop and the canons. "He was a learned man," says Desmay, "and knew his own worth, and therefore overrated it. He soon showed his teeth to the Chapter, beginning with its most important member. . . . However, he met his match and stirred up more trouble in a year than he could settle in a life-time. It is at least to his credit that he always paid up for the damage he did" (*Annales*, q. 1122, sqq.). He certainly paid dearly. John de Hangest, like many bishops of his day, wore a full beard, regardless of the Church's ruling. As soon as he began to exercise his authority, doubtless ordering certain reforms, the canons calmly replied by having conveyed to him an order to remove his fine beard if he wished to

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very much. Gerard's two brothers, Richard and James, were locksmiths or blacksmiths in Paris. In 1497 Gerard had to buy the rights of a burgess. His family was soon composed of six children. Charles and John were given burses in the College des Capettes at Noyon, and it is very likely that the Montmor family assisted John materially. Anthony became a bookbinder. Marie could not find a husband, and her younger sister married a Compeigne furbisher. The financial embarrassments and troubles with the chapter are only too easily explained. Any other explanation than this gives an utterly false idea of Gerard's social standing and independent spirit.]

officiate in the cathedral. The Bishop did not do so, and when he presented himself in full pontificals, ready "to walk over every law," the dean closed the choir gate in his beard. Then as Ordinary the Bishop interdicted the canons' procession. Thirty canons thought they could ignore this. Then the Bishop interdicted the canons, and it required an order from Parliament to get him to remove it. Thereupon John de Hangest left his episcopal town.

Certainly the whole affair was deplorable. But what influence could it have on Calvin's "conversion?" M. Doumergue takes delight in telling of it and even anticipates it in the opening chapters of his book. All that is necessary to show it could not have influenced Calvin's change of religion is to put it back to its proper place. The trouble in question began in 1533: the canons were interdicted in November, 1534: and in 1535 John de Hangest went to Rome. It is possible that "the new ideas were helped by his departure" (Lefranc *op. cit.*, p. 27): but the "*Christiana religionis institutio*" had already appeared. The new ideas were already Calvin's ideas. It is inexact also to say that the bishop "was not favorable to Protestantism," and M. Lefranc interprets facts in a very arbitrary fashion in his desire to show their connection with an advance of the new ideas in Noyon "at a period earlier than is usually thought," and which he dates back to 1526 (21).

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21 [*Ibid.* p. 22 sqq. M. Lefranc pointlessly remarks that two of John de Hangest's brothers served in Coligny's army. One commanded the right wing at the battle of St. Denis (1567). This does not compromise the Bishop in any way; and the dates are a long cry from Calvin's youth. For information as to the thoughts and religious leanings of the de Hangest family at

John de Hangest was an austere man, who lived in poverty and died a saint: his Noyon troubles arose from his lack of experience, for he had the best of intentions and was eager to work for the good of his diocese. Le Vasseur, though jealous for the rights of the Chapter does him justice and blames the "muddled officials" who "rashly and youthfully advised this young Roboam to his fall, though he would have worked miracles in the Church of God, had he been led by Nestors and wise-heads, and had he tried the ways of sweetness and not of harshness, spoken as a father not as a ruler, besought rather than commanded" ("Annales," p. 1137).

There is no authority for dating back to 1526 the coming in of Lutheran doctrines to Noyon. At that time, as we have seen, there was only question of refutation of Luther brought to the notice of the faithful, a refutation and publication in which the bishop must have taken some part. The positive existence of a Protestant party in Noyon does not date earlier than January, 1531, and it is not superfluous to point out that Calvin had left his native town eleven years previously (Cf. Lecoultrre *op. cit.* p. 13). "The surroundings," then, cannot have had a decisive influence on his "conversion." That influence during his early years, and later during his brief visits to his family, must have been rather in

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this time all that was necessary was to read the works of Jerome de Hangest, styled the "hammer of heretics." In 1523 Jerome published an "Antilogie" against Luther's articles, and later, a series of controversial works, among which his "Lumière Evangélique" bears the exact date of 1534. And with this vigorous adversary of Lutheranism, his relative, John de Hangest ought to be identified intellectually. Cf. P. Féret, La Faculté de théologie de Paris. Époque moderne. t. II, p. sqq. 25.]

the opposite direction, namely, towards the traditional belief of Catholicity, since all the documents bear witness that Noyon was at that time an essentially clerical atmosphere, "the most clerical perhaps of all Picardy" (N. Weiss. *loc. cit.* Bulletin t. XLVI, p. 371).

But perhaps we may find among his acquaintance, among his relatives and friends, and above all, among those who followed him out of the Church, the secret of the peculiar influences we have vainly sought elsewhere! What effect on his mind had the doings of Mathurin Cordier, his first Latin professor at the de la Marche College, or of Melchior Wolmar, his Greek professor at Orleans and at Bourges, or Olivetan, his compatriot and cousin, or Nicholas Cop, his friend, the fugitive rector of the University, or the many others who knew him and must surely have drawn him to their ranks? It is very difficult to affirm precisely, for John Calvin was not a man to be influenced by anyone. He imposed his ideas on others, but assimilated theirs with difficulty. According to Beza, Olivetan was his first initiator. Desmay says it was Melchior Wolmar. "He (Calvin) also on his part, having already, through a relative and friend, M. Pierre Robert, alias Olivetan, tasted somewhat of pure religion, began to grow weary of popish superstitions" ("Vie de Calvin," edit. Franklin, p. 13. Desmay, *op. cit.*, p. 392). But what was the measure of this influence?

Pierre Robert had to fly to Strasburg in 1528, and could not have been very intimate with Calvin who was ten years his junior. It is credible, however, that his example made a deep impression; but in what sense?

And as to Wolmar, was his influence all that some historians claim for it (Doumergue, p. 181. Lefranc, p.

39)? We can only fall back on conjectures, and it is curious to note in Calvin's dedication to him of the "Commentaire de la deuxième épître aux Corinthiens" in August, 1546, no reference is made to any such influence, though he carefully enumerates all Wolmar's claims on his gratitude(22). The influence of Mathurin Cordier may be passed over. When Calvin "attributes to him all the progress he afterwards made," it is of the schoolmaster, the reformer of Latin studies, that he is talking (*Ibid.* t. XIII, p. 525). On the other hand the "Colloques" of Cordier declare that at that time "he was not yet enlightened with true Gospel charity" (preface, p. IV).

Less founded still are his Protestant dealings with Briçonnet and if one wants a clear example of historical unscrupulousness it is to be found in Calvin's first letter written from Meillant, September 13, 1530. Calvin was then at Berry and he wrote to Francis Daniel who was expected soon. The letter speaks of a purchase of wine Calvin had undertaken to make for his friend, and of a traveling coat he had lent him and which he returned. Merle d'Aubigné translating Meillani by Meaux goes on to conjecture that Calvin was having interviews with Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, whom he hoped to convert. The wine in question is nothing else than "the Gospel with which Calvin sought to fill souls." And yet Protestant historians reproach Catholics with writing history to suit their preconceived views.

Is the influence of Nicholas Cop any better established?

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22 ["Corp. Reform." t. XII, n. 815. To prove that at Bourges Calvin was already an evangelical Doumergue quotes Beza, who then lived at Bourges. The evidence is very weak, as Beza was only 10 years old at the time.



It is certain that in October, 1533, when the professor of philosophy at the College of Ste. Barbe was elected rector of the University of Paris, John Calvin was in close friendship with him. But there is nothing to prove that Nicholas Cop was at that time an apostle or even a disciple of Lutheranism. His election is rather a proof of his orthodoxy. Was it not in that very year that the stake was lighted for Francis Le Court, the year when Parliament was busy against Lutheran books, when the Theological Faculty did not hesitate to censure the "*Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*," when Queen Margaret was depicted in the College of Navarre as a "Fury from Hell"? When on November 1st of that year, Nicholas Cop pronounced his official discourse in the Church des Mathurins condemning "the errors of those perverse sophists who are continually debating, disputing, arguing over trifles—over the wool of a goat—but who never speak of faith," truly feeling ran high among the theologians who saw themselves in the picture, and were hurt by its point. At all the noise raised by the sermon no one was more surprised than Nicholas, it is said, who being a doctor and a philosopher knew very little about theology. He was denounced by two Franciscans but not by the doctors of Paris, and the Rector of the University thought it prudent to make his escape before the guards of the Parliament arrested him; and Calvin, his friend, trembling with fear, disappeared suddenly. The affair went no further. Cop reached Basle, his native town, and there is nothing to show that he ever ceased to be a Catholic. In his discourse itself there are Lutheran leanings; but it would be idle to look upon it as the "First Manifesto of Protestantism" (Lang, "*Die Bekehrung Calvins*," p. 22). It was his flight rather than

the words he spoke that brought suspicion on him, suspicion but nothing more substantial(23). Cop's influence over Calvin is, therefore, very doubtful. Calvin having been accused of composing that November discourse it would be more just to reverse the rôles and inquire into Calvin's influence over Cop (Müller concludes, however, that Calvin had nothing to do with the composition of the discourse). In the case of his other friends we may arrive at a like conclusion.

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What then is left of the ingeniously built up and brilliantly presented claim that the evolution of Calvinism was brought about by local and personal surroundings?

23 ["By doing so he showed plainly that he was strongly suspected of being among the heretics." From a letter of Francis I, dated at Lyons, December 10, 1533. G. Felibien, "Preuves," p. 33. L'Abbe Feret has been misled by Audin when he writes of Nicolas Cop, "If the father bordered on heresy, the son was full of it." (La Faculté de théologie de Paris: Époque moderne. t. I, p. 151).

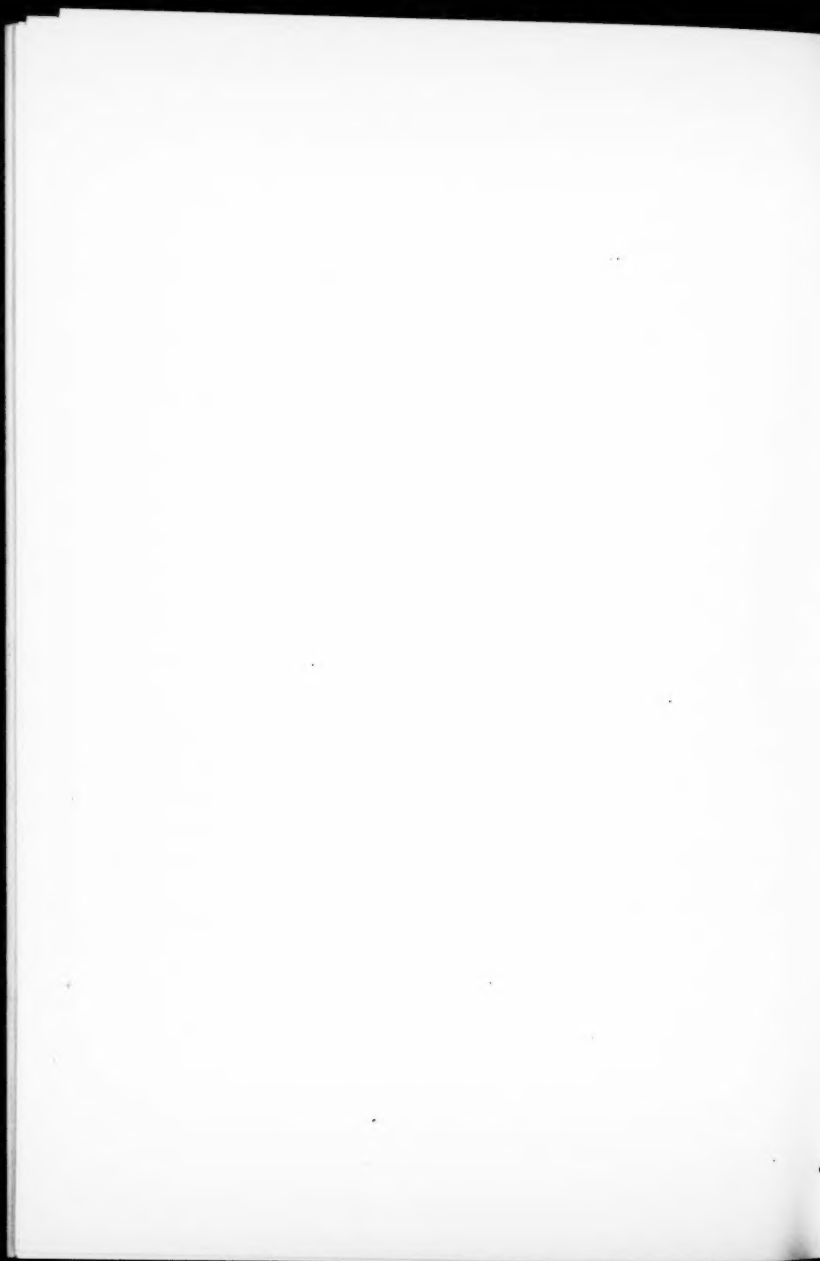
M. Doumergue takes up the same argument but for other reasons, and alleges in proof of it that William Cop, the celebrated physician of Francis I, belonged to the set of Lefèvre d'Etaples (Jean Calvin t. I, p. 114.). M. Doumergue cannot have read the evidence very carefully. In 1525 "we find Cop at Blois," he says, "sending his regards to Lefèvre and a friend." The text in question says no such thing. It was Chapelain, the Queen's physician who "sent wishes to Agrippa from Cop and from Lefèvre." (Herminjard t. I, p. 449). Moreover, the letter of Glareanus to Erasmus, August 5, 1517, does not refer to any friendship between Cop and Lefèvre. Glareanus simply refers to the reception he met with in Paris from Budé, Lefèvre and Cop. Nothing more. (Herminjard *ibid.* p. 31). From a letter of Berr to Aleaander it would seem on the contrary that William Cop in 1532 was not an evangelical. Zeitschr. für Kircheng. t. XVI, p. 482. Cf. Müller *op. cit.* p. 188.]

Little or nothing. Direct study of facts teaches the opposite. It was not by yielding to his surroundings, to the aspirations of his family, or the instincts of his race that John Cauvin became the Calvin we know, but by resisting them. We know on his own authority that he struggled for a long time, that the "novelty of the doctrines" frightened him. He did not go with the tide, but against it. Calvin was as much a stranger to Protestantism by education, traditions, and home influences, as he was to Geneva by birth. If determinism had a place in his case, as some maintain it had, we should have seen John Calvin, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Canon of Noyon, official and judge of the Faith. He would have condemned Olivetan, his kinsman and compatriot just as he condemned Servetus.

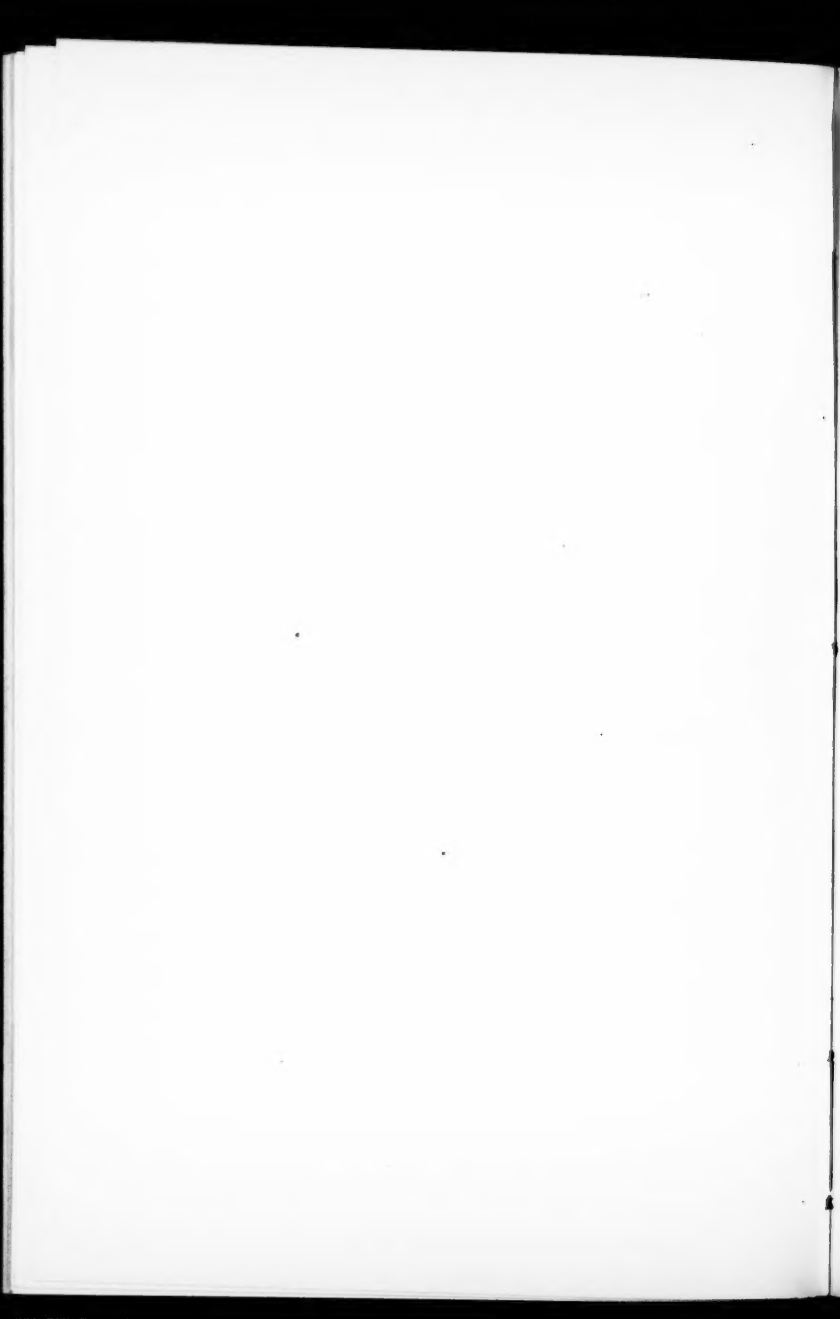
The truth is simpler and more easily grasped. Calvin was himself alone, in the suddenness of circumstance, the architect of his destiny. Brilliant though his religious luck may appear in the eyes of his biographers and of historians of Protestantism, it has no other foundation nor support save motives of personal and human order, motives actuated by visions of glory or self interest, and if there is one conclusion that stands in relief from a study of the documents of his case it is that the so-called "Conversion" dwindles down till it becomes an insignificant, commonplace secession.

PAUL BERNARD, in *Etudes*.

(To be continued.)



## **Calvin's "Conversion"**



## Calvin's "Conversion"



### III.

Whereas then we must utterly reject the legend that Calvin was a Protestant by heredity, education and leanings, it still remains no easy matter to settle the date of this "conversion" and the reasons which prompted it, owing to the conflicting testimony as well as to the scarcity of the documentary evidence.

From a detailed examination of the documents two points stand out in relief as being most probably certain, viz.: that Calvin's change of religion does not date earlier than 1534, and that it was brought about not by scruples of conscience, nor yearnings for the Gospel pure and simple, but by financial difficulties and motives of self-interest.

From a religious point of view it is by no means a matter of indifference what was the exact date when Calvin's religious evolution began. If he renounced Catholicism at a time when his freedom was unhampered, when the course of his life moved calmly and freely along; if of his own accord he chose exile and tribulation rather than position and honor, his followers are quite justified in pointing to his heroic example of devotedness to the cause of truth in support of their beliefs. But, if on the other hand, finding his dreams unrealized, his ambitions unfulfilled, and his circumstances suddenly straitened, he sought in Protestantism a refuge from worries rather than a solace for a troubled conscience,

by what title of right can his brow be crowned with the aureola of confessor and apostle, and the religion he started be styled divine?

The question of exact date is then pivotal. And this helps us to understand the eagerness of certain Protestant historians to push back Calvin's "conversion" as far as possible into the early years of his student-life at Orleans, Bourges, and even at Paris. The whole question thus becomes not one of a mere chronology of events, but it challenges the very character of the Reformation itself.<sup>(1)</sup>

It does not look, however, as if the reformer had ever seriously thought of embracing Protestantism before the early part of 1534. His own words are proof enough of this. In his "Commentaire sur les Psaumes" he expressly states that his conversion was a sudden affair—*subita conversio*—and that the year had not gone by

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(1) Theodore Beza fixes the date of the so-called "conversion" as 1528, the very period when Calvin was leaving Montaigu College to take up the study of law at Orleans. Olivetan would thus be the author of this new frame of mind ("Vie de Calvin" edit Franklin p. 12, sqq.) Merle d'Aubigné is quite certain that Calvin was a Protestant while he was studying law at Bourges in 1530 ("Hist. de la Reformation en Europe," t. II, p. 82, sqq.) M. Doumergue places the date at 1532, the year in which Calvin edited the "De Clementia." "The dedication of this work being dated April 4, 1532, Calvin's defunctive conversion would date from 1532" ("Jean Calvin," t. I, p. 339.) Hitherto the great majority of historians, accepting as proved the collaboration of Calvin in Nicholas Cop's speech, have fixed 1533 as the earliest date. "Thus it cannot be doubted that at the end of 1533 John Calvin, aged 24, was in possession of the Protestant teaching, at least in its main features." Lecoultré ("La Conversion de Calvin") in *Melanges*, p. 138.) C. F. Lang "Die Bekehrung Calvins, S.G.T." Wernle, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*: t. XXVII, p. 84, sq.



before he had, "though a novice and an apprentice," spread the pure doctrine around him.(2)

This avowal of such a sudden change in a matter of such importance being rather to his disfavor, there is no reason for rejecting his own words which seem on the contrary to be decisive. Moreover, it fits in with what we learn from the documents. Up to then there is not in his letters the slightest trace of religious preoccupation. By what means indeed could the pious pupil of de la Marche or Mantaigu Colleges have been so quickly influenced in his faith at Orleans or at Bourges, places where the sway of Protestant thought remains in spite of everything altogether problematical? True, the action of his Greek professor, Melchior Wolmar, who was then teaching at Bourges and who was extremely friendly towards Calvin, has been suggested not without some show of proof as an influencing cause. Such may have been the case. But in any case Wolmar's efforts had very little effect. He was dealing with a man of very unaccommodating disposition, as we learn if not from him(3) at least from history, a man who looked at things in his own way and had a glib answer for everything, so that Wolmar's efforts resulted in nothing but vague hopes for the future.

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(2) "Opera" t. XXXI, p. 22. Calvin is referring to the same year in which he left France. We know, from other sources, that his departure took place towards the end of 1534, or, rather, in the opening days of 1535.

(3) De Calvino non tam metuo ingenii sui *ten strebloten?* quam bene spero, id enim vitii aptum est rebus nostris, ut in magnum assertorum nostrorum dogmatum evadat; non enim facile capi poterit quin majoribus tricis adversarios involvat." A text void of all credibility. Audin, p. 41.

Would Calvin himself, when dedicating his "Commentaire sur les Epîtres aux Corinthiens" to Wolmar, and enumerating all the favors done him by his former master, have omitted to place in the forefront of them all the fact of his "conversion" were it the case that the German humanist had had any notable influence on that event ("Opera" t. XII, p. 365).

Moreover, at Orleans (1528-1529) and at Bourges (1529-1531) all Calvin's intimate friends were loyal Catholics untainted by the Reform movement: François Daniel, Nicolas Duchemin, François de Connan, and their friendship remained unbroken and intimate until during the year 1534. Does this point to any sign of a change of religion?

On his return to Paris in 1531 to pursue his literary studies he chose Fortet College as his residence, and we find him visiting a convent in Paris to have an interview with the younger sister of François Daniel, who was about to become a nun, in order to make certain that her vocation was genuine and from God, a matter about which her family was not without misgivings. Calvin questioned the young girl, and was of opinion that her decision was gladly and freely taken; he offered no word to turn her away from her purpose, but recommended her to put her trust absolutely in God.(4)

Neither these words nor the stand he took are those of a "confirmed evangelical." Cop accompanied him on that occasion. And further, that very year was the one in which the question arose of his becoming an official

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(4) *Nolin eam deducere a sententia . . . eique consului ut omnia reponeret in Dei virtute.* (Herminjard t. II, p. 346 sqq. Letter to François Daniel, June 27, 1531.)

of the Noyon Chapter (Herminjard, t. II, p. 383. Letter from François Daniel to Jean Calvin, Dec. 27, 1531). The year after this, Calvin was at Paris editing his commentary on Seneca's "De Clementia," a purely philological work. Truly an enormous amount of effort has been spent in trying to give a religious bent to this publication, to discover in it "an appeal for clemency in favor of the persecuted Lutherans" (Guizot, "Les vies de quatre grands chretiens français," p. 168), or better still, a profession of Calvinistic faith (Doumergue, *op. cit.* p. 339). But all in vain.

The "De Clementia" had been addressed by Seneca to Nero; supposing Calvin had intended such an appeal for the King of France, would not Francis I have been annoyed by the parallel? Not a line of the whole work shows the special pleader, nor hints at an allusion (cf. H. Lecoultre "Calvin d'apres son commentaire sur le 'De Clementia' de Seneque," p. 24 sqq). On the contrary, the commentary is dedicated "to the saintly and wise Claude de Hañgest, abbé de Saint Eloi," and contains gushing eulogies of ardent Catholics such as Budé, and pronounced opponents of Protestantism such as Erasmus.

Has it been sufficiently pointed out that in editing his commentary on the "De Clementia" Calvin took up, to complete and illustrate his point of view, the Erasmian edition of the text? And it is precisely in the preface to the 1529 Seneca that we come across this characteristic phrase often quoted by Erasmus when there was question of Protestantism: "My soul is sorely troubled by this deadly pest, which throughout almost the whole world has marred the concord of princes, the religion of Christian peoples, and the most honorable of the sciences, to such a pitch that I regret the very studies I have published,

although apart from this, I know of nothing more entertaining." (5)

Again, in speaking of Catholicism, Calvin speaks respectfully of it as *our* religion. From the start he repudiates Stoicism, and opposes to it *illa confessio Religionis nostra*. A few pleasant or gibing sayings about the Schools are not enough to make him out a Protestant; jibes were the order of the day at that epoch in every camp, and not a few of them went straight to the sore point. Could a humanist be expected to lose a chance of chaffing the mataeologians. Faith had nothing whatever to do with it and the best of Catholics played the game. So then Calvin's orthodoxy is not even smirched, and the editors of the "Opera" hit the mark when comparing the humanist of 1533 with the Reformer of 1536 they come not without surprise to this conclusion: "Of the Calvin known later throughout Christendom, nothing is

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(5) "L. Annaei Senecal Opera." 1529. Praef. p. iv. In reply to the Strasburg preachers who, in 1530, attempted to refute his charges, Erasmus categorically declared—and his words are very clear as to what he thought then of Evangelicalism—"I know positively that there never has been more fleshliness and adultery than there is among the Evangelicals, as they choose to call themselves."

Did not Luther himself avow he would prefer to live under the sway of Popes and monks, rather than be placed in contact with a breed of men who, under the cloak of the Gospel, led the lives of Sybarites?

Melanchton, in his "Lettres" says the same thing, and Ecolampadus, in one of his "Colloques," repeats it. "I see clearly all that has been rejected and destroyed, but I see nothing better in its stead." "Opera," Lyons edition, t. X, p. 1592 sqq. Calvin's admiration for Erasmus, like that of all other contemporary humanists, is well known.

the same but the elegance of his Latin" ("Opera" t. V. Prologue, p. XXXII).

During the course of 1532 Calvin is back again in Orleans to attend law lectures and win his doctorate.<sup>(6)</sup> It was during this time that he was named procurator for his nation. On October 27, 1533, we find him in Paris, where he had just arrived. On that date he wrote to his friend François Daniel to give him the news of the few days since his arrival. He tells him of what had been taking place at the College of Navarre, of the play the pupils had got up against Queen Margaret, and of the condemnation of the "Miroir de l'âme." It is pretty clear that Orleans knew but little of what went on in Paris.

Calvin says not a word that betrays the least sympathy for the Lutheran side, which he calls "the revolutionary party," *qui rebus novis inhiant* (Herminjard t. II, p. 107. Letter to François Daniel at the end of October, 1533). Even Herminjard is driven to admit that these words "cause some surprise if we hold that Calvin had already absolutely thrown in his lot with the Reformation" (*Ibid.* p. 108). Meanwhile the Cop affair had occurred. Denounced for his All Saints' sermon, and hunted by the agents of the Parliament, the Rector of

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(6) This fact is now certain: and it is not without importance. Cf. Müller "Calvin's Bekehrung" in Nachrichten von der Königl-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1905. Heft. II, p. 188 sqq. Hence it can no longer be held with Herminjard that Calvin spent the winter of 1532-1533 at Paris (Corresp. t. II, p. 103): nor is it any longer permissible, starting from this hypothesis, to indulge in wild conjectures as to what Calvin did and said in the middle of the evangelical group at Paris during this period. Cf. Merle d'Aubigné, *op. cit.* p. 111.

the University, supported by the medical faculty and the faculty of arts, but abandoned by the faculties of law and theology, made a hasty flight; and Calvin, who was then regent of Cardinal Le Moyne College, in his anxiety to get out of the way had barely time to climb through a window looking towards the Bernardins, and let himself down by the sheets of his bed instead of ropes" (Desmay "*Remarques sur la vie de Calvin, tirées des Archives de la Ville de Noyon*," in "*Archives Curieuses*" t. x. p. 393). The archers of Morin, the fierce lieutenant, came and made a search of his house but found nothing compromising. So slight was Calvin's part in the affair that he turned up in Paris very soon afterward, and had the great honor of being received at Court by Margaret of Navarre (Theo. Beza, edition Reuss, p. 124. cf. A. Lefranc, p. 117). Nevertheless, as Florimond de Raemonnd puts it, "Paris was hot" for those suspected by the lieutenant of police. Calvin, who feared nothing so much as broils with the police, and who had no love for the stake, thought it wiser to withdraw for a time to the borders of the domains subject to the Parliament of Paris. So he went to Angoulême to join his friend Canon Tillet, who offered him the hospitality of his house. Calvin at this time still held the parish of Pont l'Evêque. And we must believe that his relations with the Angoulême Canons were of the best, for he was chosen by the Chapter to "pronounce the Latin prayers customary at the assembling of a Synod, which he did two or three times in St. Peter's Church" (Florimond de Raemonnd "*Histoire de la Naissance de l'heresie*," t. II, p. 889). Florimond de Raemonnd, who went to the spot in search of documentary evidence before writing his history, and whose witness

has on this account a peculiar authority, expressly states that during all the time of his stay at Angoulême Calvin "performed no religious function contrary to the Catholic religion, whether by way of sermon or of prayer. He had not begun to do that yet" (*Ibid*).

Such then was the state of Calvin's fortunes in the early months of 1534. Doubtless it differs in many points from what Protestant historians have labored so hard hitherto to depict it,<sup>(7)</sup> guided less by the rigorous data of history than by the vagaries of prejudice and the imaginings of folklore.

Gradually, thanks to many excellent minutiose monographs, the real Calvin begins to live for us, to stand out from an impartial and careful study of facts, and to appear before us, however imperfectly, as he really was in his daily routine, in his writings and in his friendships. In any case the portrait is true in its essential details—and that is enough for us—to what he himself tells us of himself at this period, namely that he was "too doggedly buried in the superstitions of popery."

Then suddenly a brusque and deep change took place within him. His letters show signs of a thousand religious preoccupations; he gets in touch with men whose friendship is either compromising or at best equivocal;

(7) In this conversion we may note R. Reuss's verdict on M. Doumergue's "Calvin," in the *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du Protestantisme français*, t. XLVIII, p. 556: "It may be laid down," he writes in summing up the first volume, "without hurting anybody's feelings, that a complete biography of Calvin has not yet been written, a biography, namely, based on the findings of the most recent historical investigators." Kampschulte ("Die Thätigkeit Johann Calvin's zu Genf." p. 111) treats as mere romance-writing Merle d'Aubigne's history; and it would be easy to continue the list.

a new life begins; he undertakes mysterious journeys on business more or less secret into distant places on matters concerning proselytism or controversy ("Comment. in Ps. Opera," t. XXXI, p. 7).

Calvin is back again at Noyon. On May 4, he resigned or rather sold his benefices, i. e., his chaplaincy of La Gesine, and his cure of souls at Pont l'Evêque, and straightway began in all probability to disseminate error secretly around him. Following on a noisy brawl which occurred at the Cathedral on the Vigil of the Trinity, we find, from Desmay's notes, that he was incarcerated, on May 26, in the Chapter prison cells, released on June 3, and arrested again on June 5.(8)

No positive charges could be proved against him, it would seem, since we soon afterwards find him again on his way to Angoulême, whither he went to confer with his friend Tillet. From Angoulême he quickly found his way to Poitiers, but with what object we know not.(9)

It was there that he showed openly for the first time his evangelical leanings, or, as Florimond de Raemond expresses it, "displayed his stock in trade," began to carry on his sectarianism, and to recruit followers by approaching "men of learning there who had heard speak

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(8) Desmay, *op. cit.*, p. 394. A Protestant clique got a foothold in Noyon toward the end of 1533. Processions and public prayings were forbidden by Bishop John de Hangest on January 16, 1534, because "those miserable miscreants are becoming more and more numerous, and because scandals are increasing in number and enormity even in our very midst."

(9) It is not easy to place this trip of Poitiers in the early months of 1534. The details given by Florimond de Raemond would point to a summer visit: and this would harmonize with the chronology of M. Abel Lefranc. (cf. "La Jeunesse de Calvin," p. 47.)



of him when he resided in Angoulême." He was well received by the nobility, the middle classes, and by the clergy, and he was soon able to count on a "store of friends." Among the more prominent of them were the Prior of Trois-Moustiers, François Fouquet, Doctor Charles Le Sage and Lieutenant-General de la Reynies. "Being one day with the Lieutenant in his garden, and accompanied by a few other men of letters from the University, they conversed on the question of religion and the opinions of Luther and Zwinglius. For such was the usual topic of conversation not only among men of learning but among all classes, along the roadside and even during meal-times. Calvin, who knew the matter thoroughly and was ready for the occasion, set for the principal points, emphasizing above all, the Sacrifice of the Mass (Florimond de Raemond: *loc. cit.* p. 891)."

If we may credit this same historian this was the first Calvinistic conciliabule in which Calvin took an effective part. (10) It was to be followed by many more.

This information, supplied by a writer who sought evidence at first hand, agrees very precisely with a very precious statement we find in a document the existence

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(10) "As our first parents were beguiled and misled in a garden, so also in this lieutenant's garden in the Rue des Cesses-treilles, this handful of men was bluffed and cajoled by Calvin. . . . It was there was held the first Calvinist council, which was to cost France so dearly, and which included a Doctor Regent, Anthoine de la Duguie; Philippe Veron, procurator of the Diocese; Albert Babinot, a reader from the Ministreirie of Jean Vernon fils, of Poitiers. The discussion hinged mainly on the reality of the Sacrament. . . . The same little group had many other meetings afterwards, near S. Bennet's caves, Crotelles and other retired spots, both in the country and in the town." ("Ibid." p. 892.)

of which seems to be ignored by Protestant bibliographers of Calvin, but the content of which has been carefully preserved for us by J. Soullier in his "*Histoire du Calvinisme*." It is an attestation drawn up in due form by the President of the Parliament of Paris, Louis Charreton, and two other witnesses, particularizing the time and circumstances of Calvin's secession. This document is of such weighty importance in the present inquiry and corroborates so fully the foregoing conclusions that it deserves to be reproduced in its entirety:

"We, the undersigned, Louis Charreton, councillor of the King in council, dean of the presidents of the Parliament of Paris, son of the late Messire André Charreton, during his life first Baron of Champagne, and councillor of the upper chamber of the Parliament of Paris; Dame Anthoinette Charreton, relict of Noel Renouvard, who during his life was master of the Paris Counting-house, daughter of the late Hugues Charreton, Lord of Montauzon; and Jean Charreton, Lord of La Terrière; all three being cousins-german and grandchildren of Hugues Charreton, Lord of La Terrière and la Douzé, who had over and over told them that during the reign of François I, while the court was at Fontainebleau, one Calvin, who held a benefice at Noyon, arrived there and put up in the same house where the said Lord Charreton was staying, who, on learning that Calvin was a man of education and talent, out of his regard for men of letters, caused it to be made known to him that he desired the pleasure of his company; to which Calvin agreed all the more readily as he thought Charreton might be useful to him in gaining the object of his journey to Fontainebleau; and that after many visits the said Charreton asked him the object of his journey, to which Calvin replied that he had come to solicit a Priory from the King, for which there was only one other competitor, a relative of the Constable. Whereupon the said Charreton asked him if he thought that put him at a disadvantage, and Calvin replied that M.

le Connétable was a man of much weight, but he knew that in disposing of benefices the King was wont to choose the most suitable persons and that this relative of M. le Connétable was really not equal to the task. Then sieur de Charreton pointed out that something more would have to be done, as no very great qualifications were necessary for the holding of a benefice. Thereupon Calvin declared that if he did not get his rights he would find means of causing himself to be talked of for the next five hundred years; and when Charreton pressed him to let him know how he would bring that about Calvin led him to his room and showed him the first part of his 'Institution,' and after reading him a portion of it Calvin asked him what he thought of it, and Charreton replied that it was *poison wrapped up in sweet sugar*, and that he would do well not to go on with a work which was simply a false interpretation of the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers. But seeing that he remained fixed in his evil plan, he warned the Constable that Calvin was a fool and ought to be looked after. Two days later the benefice in question was given to the Constable's relative, and Calvin withdrew and began to establish his sect, which being an easy sort of thing, found many adherents either through libertinage or weak-mindedness.

"That sometime afterwards the Constable being on his way to his post in Languedoc, and passing through Lyons, where the said Charreton paid him a visit, and being asked by the Constable whether having lived with Calvin he were not also a Calvinist, he made answer that he would be in a bad way indeed if he belonged to a religion the father of which he had seen born.

"In faith of which we have signed our names at Paris, this 20th day of September, 1682.

"(Signed) Charreton, *president*; A. Charreton, Widow Renouard; and Charreton de la Terrière."

This curious document, of which we cannot doubt the authenticity, confirms all that Florimond de Raemond says and all that we know of the story and the psy-

chology of Calvin. In the early months of 1534 his heart was turned towards Protestantism, and we can well understand the motives of this sudden transformation of soul.

Yet it would not seem as though Calvin had at this time intended to break openly with the Church. M. Puaux very frankly acknowledges this,(11) and the mystery with which he surrounds his conduct is proof enough of it.

But he was Protestant at heart. And not only that, but he sought to make others so. Lodging at Paris in the house of Antoine de la Forge, an active heretic who soon after went to the stake, he dogmatizes and prepares for the struggle. His conversion was indeed "sudden"; it was also thorough, and this it is that requires explanation.

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(11) "We are in 1536: Calvin has not yet dreamt of schism. He remains in *his* church, although he is being persecuted." ("Histoire de la Reformation française," p. 174).

PAUL BERNARD in *Etudes*.

(To be Continued.)

## Calvin's "Conversion"

### IV. CONCLUDED.

If Calvin ever had a passion for anything—he who had many passions against a lot of things—it was assuredly a love of literature and renown. Moreover, this was the dominant ambition of that brilliant period. After the heavy sluggishness of mind, and the disastrous wars of the fifteenth century, a new world had been opened up to human thought; the Renaissance had revived the masterpieces of antiquity, and restored to a higher pinnacle of honor, than ever before, the Cult of the Beautiful. What it had done for Italy of the Quattrocento it was very soon to do for France also. Learned coteries were formed for the discussion of texts, and for commenting on the poets. The upper classes were quickly won over to this delightful culture and reveled in noble and refined enjoyments. Literary clubs arose wherein ladies ruled as queens. Even the humbler classes were caught up by an unexpected love for this far-off past that was coming to life again around them; and they became busy at the study of Latin and even of Greek (cf. Delaruelle, "Guillaume Budé," p. 56). A new force was at work on men's minds clamoring for a new method of education; and all honors and rewards were reserved for men of letters. Humanism had come to sway public opinion.

The humble procurator of the ecclesiastical Curia of Noyon must have been thoroughly convinced of this before he sent his son John to the Paris schools and kept

him there despite the prescriptions and injunctions of the Chapter.(1)

Young John justified all his father's hopes. His early studies at the College des Capettes at Noyon had been matter for comment. At Paris, together with the sons of Montmor he entered De la Marche College, where humanism ever since 1509 had made rapid strides under Aléandre.(2)

From the very start he claimed the attention of his professor, who was none other than Mathurin Cordier, who walked in the footsteps of Aléandre, and was the first to attempt modern educational methods.(3)

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(1) Gerard Cauvin employed a stratagem to gain his ends "August 5, 1523, the year of the great pest, John Calvin obtained from the chapter, at his father's request, permission to absent himself from Noyon, *owing to the danger*. This was granted with the privilege *lucrando* until St. Remy's Day. From this year we do not hear of him again until 1526, when, at the instance of the promoter, he was charged with contumacy before the General Chapter, held on January 16. He was again condemned on the same count at the General Chapter, May 6, 1527, at which he did not appear either personally or by proxy of a procurator, as he was then studying in Paris; and to explain this absence he ought at least to have sent in testimonial letters from the Rector of the University; but he did nothing of the sort, and during all this time never came near Noyon." (Desmay, p. 311.)

(2) "I wish you could see this crowd," wrote Jean Kurher to Hummelberg, August 4, 1511. "You would almost say it is a countless army. What more! Aleandre is esteemed as one straight from heaven, and, as in the case of Faustus, they are never done shouting Vivat! Vivat!" (Cf. Paquier "Jérôme Aléandre," p. 51.)

(3) Such a reaction against medieval formalism was altogether justifiable. Instead of the mnemotechnic method applied

The impression made on young Calvin by this new method of teaching was profound and pleasant. He remembered it thirty years afterwards. "O Master Mathurin," he wrote, "man of deep learning and ever present fear of God, when but a boy and knowing but the very elements of the Latin tongue, my father sent me to Paris, it pleased God that I should meet you as a professor and be turned by you into the right road to learning: and having begun this method of study under your guidance I made such progress that I can now do something of service to the Church of God" ("Comment in 1am Epist. ad Thess., Opera" t. XXII, p. 22).

So rapid was his progress that the tutor of the Montmor boys, who was also looking after Calvin's studies, thought fit to advance him to the Third Class after a few months. The lad was heart-broken. "O Master Mathurin, that reckless, ill-advised man who arranges my studies at his good pleasure, or rather at the freak of his fancy, no longer allows me to enjoy your teaching, but straightway puts me in a higher class. What a misfortune!(4)

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exclusively to the rules of the "Doctrinal," the "Mamotrectus," the "Graxiloquus" and the "Catholicon," it aimed at placing the student in contact with the author, and supplying him with a grammar explanatory of the language, and giving a clear explanation of its system. cf. Carl Rossow "Italienische und Deutsche Humanisten und ihre Stellung Zu den Liebesübungen," p. 22 sqq; Monnier, "Le Quattrocento." t. I, p. 238 sqq.

(4) "*Ibid.*" Apropos of this, Merle d'Aubigné gives his imagination free rein. "Although Calvin now attended another class, he continued under the same roof as Cordier. He visited him in the intervals between lectures; he hung on the words that came from his lips: and during all the time that he remained at La Marche College he never ceased to profit by the master's exquisite taste, his pure latinity, his wide erudition and his ad-

The following year Calvin entered Montaigu College where a reform of study had gone hand in hand with a reform of conduct. Stern old Standonck was devoted to good Latinity. This learned man was perhaps the first in Paris to realize the utility of a literary training to young ecclesiastics, and Calvin found in his house all the traditions of Christian humanism. "Even then he gave evidence," says Theodore Beza, "of a talented mind, and made such progress that in a few years he was advanced to philosophy" (*Op. cit.* p. 11). Henceforward the die is cast: Calvin's mind is made up, his plans are settled: he will be a humanist.

But in spite of everything the main tide of the Renaissance swept by him. The humanism he saw was a very limited sort of affair, a dry lustreless thing, but well suited to his tastes. There was nothing of the poet or the maker about Calvin: he was not even a philosopher: but his mind had a methodical bent, and he was an investigator. He was not the man to ask himself whether humanism was or was not a new principle of life, whether it revealed the external world to mankind, and taught man to distinguish between the human and the individual. He did not, as Michelet expresses it, "plumb the depths of its nature: he did not even begin to throne himself on Justice and Reason" ("La Renaissance" introd., p. 11). But he had an amazing capacity for work,

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mirable gifts for moulding youth" ("Hist. de la Reform. au temps de Calvin," t. I, p. 558.) There is no ground for these inductions. It is almost certain that Calvin lived with his uncle near the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and that he attended classes at the La Marche College merely as a *martinet* or day pupil. (cf. A. Lefranc, p. 60.)



a love for manuscripts, and a skill in fine writing. Philology would be his field of labor. The glory of Budé captivated him, and he dreamed of being a French Erasmus; and no effort was too great for his Picardian doggedness if only it would bring him before the public. His robust memory and his keen intellect were the best of tools: he would face anything and triumph over every obstacle.

At the University of Bourges, as at Orleans, his literary and law studies went hand in hand. Nothing could distract him from his passion. He learned Greek from Wolmar, interpreted texts, pored over the Classics, read Erasmus and kept in touch with the march of ideas around him. It meant prodigious effort on his part. "Often he studied until midnight, and on this account ate very little supper. Then when he waked in the morning he remained some little time in bed thinking and memorizing what he had learned the evening before. There is no doubt that these vigils seriously injured his health (Th. Beza, p. 15).

At the age of twenty-one he was ready for the fray. For his friend Duchemin, he wrote a preface to the "Antapologie" in which he defended Pierre del' Estoille against Alciati. (This preface dates from March, 1531.) As soon as his father's death gave him freedom he took up his residence in Paris, June, 1531, and became an assiduous and brilliant student of the Royal Lecturers, attending the Greek classes given by Danés, and the Hebrew by Vatable. On April 22, 1532, his commentary on the "De Clementia" saw the light. What joy, but what anxiety for him! How was it going to be received? He urged the regents of the Paris universities

to adopt it as text-book for their *Praelectiones*; he wrote to Bourges asking that it be publicly recommended: he begged François Daniel, in the name of their old friendship, to spread the work, and wondered if he could not find sale for 100 copies, it would be doing him (Calvin) such a favor, and also he adds in all seriousness, it would be "to the public advantage." But above all he was anxious to know what was thought of the work, good or bad ("Letters, 22 April—end of April to François Daniel": in Herminjard t. II, p. 417, sqq). It is evident that Calvin knew all about how the fortune of a book is made. He was absolutely determined to succeed, and he left no stone unturned for success.

The renewal of his law studies at Orleans, in May, 1532, doubtless took him away for a time from the literary movement: for the next seventeen months we hear nothing of him. But on his return to Paris in October, 1533, he got in touch with Cop, rector of the University, and Gerard Roussel, whom he calls "Our Gerard" ("Letter to François Daniel, 27 October." *Ibid.*, p. 104), and the group of humanists that had grown up at court under the royal patronage of Margaret of Navarre and Francis I.

Calvin no doubt hoped to make use of them sometime or perhaps even get a post later on among the Royal Lecturers with his compatriot, Vatable, thanks to the favor of Margaret of Navarre, through whom most of the patronage was dispensed. To her he attached himself; he championed her cause warmly and before all else. When he learned in Paris of what had taken place at the College of Navarre, he vigorously denounced as criminal the action of those who dared represent the Queen of Navarre on the stage as a Fury; and he called

the theologians who condemned her "Miroir de l'âme" *factiosi*. (5)

His indignation was very great. Evidently he aimed at standing well with her as well as with William Budé, her inspirer, whom he praises almost on a level with Erasmus, in his "De Clementia." Indeed he had every ground for hope.

Then suddenly the wheel of fortune turned, and his dreams melted away. Cop's unlucky discourse compromised him forever. Calvin thought the situation very serious, since he fled in such haste, not even waiting to go by the door, and driven to put on a disguise that was far from courtly, and cursing his luck if we may credit the old canon's story related to us by Desmay. (6)

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(5) Alterum facinus ediderunt factiosi quidam theologi aequè malignum etsi non usque adeo audax. *Ibid.* p. 103 sqq.

(6) Calvin escaped by the window onto the Faubourg St. Victor, and took refuge in the hut of a vine-pruner, where he changed his clothes, putting on the vine-pruner's apron (*juppe*), and with a white wallet and a hoe on his shoulders he set out on the road to Noyon. This canon met him on the way, and they recognized each other. The canon showed him his error, and promised to have him well looked after if he would change his life, and for his soul's sake cease from his present plans. Calvin, who was still hot-headed and allured by the promises and hopes held out by the new sectaries, made answer to him: "Since I have begun I'll see the thing through to the end. Nevertheless," said he, "if it were to be done over again I would not have anything to do with it." ("Archives Curieuses," p. 393.) His disappointment may be imagined. While admitting the authenticity of the incident, it by no means follows that Calvin had at that time compromised himself seriously with the Lutherans properly so called. There was much confusion prevalent just then over humanists, reformers, expectants and Lutherans.

The storm was violent, and Calvin, as he himself tells us, was not bravery incarnate. However, he soon saw that his hopes were not completely wrecked, and he set to work skillfully to save what he could.

Margaret of Navarre welcomed him to court. That was no small honor: and Calvin's courage went up again. He knew his own merits well; and without doubting his ultimate success, but relying on his fame as a man of letters and his favor with Queen Margaret, he boldly took his stand as a candidate for a Priory, which he hoped he would obtain from the king as a reward due to his worth. But oh unforeseen deception, more cruel than Lieutenant Morin's rough methods! Francis I did not even condescend to reply to his request, but chose a man of "very small ability."

The shadow was beginning to darken around Calvin; joined to his present humiliation, there was uncertainty as to the future. In the depths of his wounded pride he felt his anger awakening.

Calvin now found himself in the most embarrassing of positions, without employment and without resources. Learning makes very poor food for the body, and neither the treatise on "Psychopannychie" for which he was collecting material, nor the commentary on the "De Clementia," nor the preface to the "Antapologie" were likely to make his fortune. At the moment it was not a question of making his fortune; but a question of living and staving off black poverty that threatened him so closely. The opposition of the Police Lieutenant had caused him to lose his place as regent of Cardinal Le-moine College, and all hope of ever getting back his rank in the university. In a few weeks at most he would be called on to resign his parish at Pont l'Evêque and his

chaplaincy at Noyon, in the due course of ecclesiastical procedure, owing to the fact that he was not entering into Holy Orders. The Royal favor, the usual source of revenue for poets and men of learning, had also been taken away from him. What was to become of him? What was he to do? No historian has hitherto done justice to the extremity of distress to which Calvin was reduced at this juncture.

True, he had never lived in luxury as a scholar of the College des Capettes, and at Orleans and Bourges and Paris he had often been hard pressed. At times, we may say, he lived by his wits, and it was to escape this position that his father so suddenly look him from the study of philosophy and put him to study law and business.(7)

The sums coming to him from his benefices were very small; his parish appointments were little better,(8) and out of them he had to pay a curate or deputy.

Then again the best part of his revenues went to his family. Calvin often complained that his brother Anthony was not sending him his rights (Letter to Nicholas Duchemin, 1532, in Herminjard, t. II, p. 392).

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(7) As a youth my father had intended me to study theology, but soon afterwards, as he reflected that the knowledge of law usually enriches those who follow the legal profession, he suddenly changed his mind. And that was the reason why I was taken from the study of philosophy and put to study law. ("Opera," t. XXXI, p. 6.)

(8) Cf. Imbart de la Tour, "Les Origines de la Réforme," t. II, p. 256. Many of the smaller parishes did not bring in more than from 10 to 15 *livres* a year, which is not even a cent a day, or about one-half or one-third of what an artisan was paid at the time.

Hence he was often reduced to appealing to the generosity of others. Almost on his arrival at Bourges in September, 1530, when returning to François Daniel a cloak he had lent him for the journey, he thanks him with effusion for all he had done for him at Orleans, and treats him as his benefactor (Letter to François Daniel, September 6, 1530, in Herminjard, t. II, p. 280. "*Non enim fœneraris beneficia, sed gratuita largiris*"). If he undertakes to perform a service for his friend he is careful to explain that it is not an indirect way of asking money. Wolmar, who was quick to detect the student's poverty, and who had his own views for him, placed his purse at Calvin's disposal many times, but it was always refused. (9)

Already his professors at Orleans had proposed to dispense him from all examinations until the Doctorate (Colladon, *Vie de Calvin*, p. 55, Th. Beza, p. 122).

The publication of the "*De Clementia*" only added to his distress. At the beginning of the year he had to borrow two crowns from Nicholas Duchemin. His want, as he himself tells us, was extreme. He could not wait even a day, nor an hour. (10)

At the end of April his distress had not abated, perhaps even it had increased for he had spent on his book "more than you would believe." The two letters to François

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(9) As long as I live I shall remember your zeal in my behalf, and your love of your own profession? . . . Nor did you content yourself with watching over my literary progress, but you were ever willing to open to me your purse. ("*Comment in Ep. and Cor. Opera*" t. XVII, p. 22.)

(10) "*Nunc me urget necessitas quae nec diem nec horam ferre potest . . . Duo coronati mihi opus sunt.*" Letter to N. Duchemin, 1532, in Herminjard, t. II, p. 392.

Daniel are filled with his woes: his only hope is to get back what he had expended. His friend knows his straitened circumstances so well that Calvin on sending him a complimentary copy of his work takes care to state that Daniel must not think himself bound to pay for the copy (Herminjard, t. II, p. 417 sqq).

However, his paternal inheritance was put in the market on February 14, and no doubt the large part of it, if not the whole, went to meet the cost of bringing out his book. Such seems at least to be the best interpretation to a phrase in a letter to his friend. "I have sunk in it more money than I can make you believe." The truth is that after this time Calvin could never make ends meet. He was insolvent. On January 7, 1533, complaint was lodged against him by Master Aubin Ploquin, in the name of the curate, "who for fifteen months has been discharging Master John Calvin's Mass obligations in his chaplaincy and during that time has had no news from him."

The holder of the chaplaincy making no answer, for very good reason, the chapter ordered "the revenue of the chapel to be retained until the claims of the curate were satisfied (Desmay, "Archives Curieuses," p. 394). We can understand the anguish of Calvin, who was soon to lose his post at the Cardinal Lemoine College, and to be refused the benefice he solicited from Francis I.

The resignation of his chaplaincy and parish, May 4, 1534, only a few days after the refusal of his request, could not have left him with funds for any length of time. If we are to credit Michelet, Calvin had reaped no advantage from this step in which he acted with the "proud disinterestedness of a Rousseau or a Robespierre" (*Histoire de France*, t. IX, p. 97).

But Michelet wrote history from his own imagination. Desmay expressly states that he resigned "in favor of Master Anthony de la Marlière, *mediante pretio conventionis*, and that both took immediate possession, the one of the money, the other of the benefice" ("Archives Curieuses," p. 389). However, the sum was trifling, and not enough to save Calvin from despair.<sup>(11)</sup>

His resentment was all the deeper, and Calvin was not a man to forget his torts, and put off his revenge.

The passion for letters consumed him, and seems to have choked every other feeling in him. Even from the death bed of his father he could find no tender word to say about the dying man, he can only speak of literature, and his approaching return (Letter to N. Duchemin, May 14, 1531, in Herminjard, t. II, p. 332).

To this literary renown he had sacrificed not only his money but his health. He lost everything at once and he had not in himself the requisite resources of initiative and courage to get him on his feet again and start afresh in the world of business. "I was by nature somewhat wild and sensitive," he has described himself, "and I love retirement and tranquillity. So that I sought out some

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(11) For Protestant historians who see a "conversion" of Calvin prior to 1534, the fact of this tardy resignation becomes embarrassing. How are they to justify it? M. Puaux pleads extenuating circumstances. "If Calvin's disinterestedness were not in a manner proverbial, his conduct would point to cupidity: for enemy though he was to the abuses of the Church he continued to hold his parish through a vicar or curate, and to receive his share of its revenues. For the reformer's glory it is to be regretted that he did not resign when, as a student at Bourges, he came to understand that the papacy had gone astray. ("Histoire de la Ref." p. 184.) We know what to think of Calvin's disinterestedness, and how he paid his curates.



hiding place so as to get away from the crowd" ("Comm. in Ps. Opera," t. XXXI, p. 22). The fact is he was an *intellectuel* who disliked the routine and noise of business, and who cared for nothing but study. Besides he was uneven in temper, took offence easily, even when among friends,(12) and was by no means inclined to give way before the will of others. Hence, his diploma of Doctor of Laws could not have been of very much use to him.

Then again, how was he to renounce hopes that up to then had been his ambition, his very life? And if he could, would he be willing to do so? for that, after all, was the sore point. Self conceited, and conscious of his own talent, domineering and proud, even when among friends,(13) could Calvin forget a slight; Calvin who had, in the words of one of his historians, "hatred, jealousy, envy, and some poison or another always 'on tap.'"

As a matter of fact he did not forget, and soon after this we find him at Poitiers supporting Protestantism, and betraying in his ardent, though underhand, propaganda, his never-ending opposition to those who twice in rapid succession had brought about his trouble with the courts and caused him to be refused a priory.

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(12) See especially the letter of October 27, 1533, to François Daniel, in which he complains bitterly of Framberge, who had either forgotten or omitted to salute him. "Quod omnium indignissimum est." (Herminjard *loc. cit.* p. 383.)

(13) While at Angouleme he spent much time alone in a long corridor of the Tillet house, along which were ranged three or four thousand books, MSS. &c. I learned from those who saw and knew him at that time, that even his best friends could hardly get a word with him, so superior did he think himself. (Florimond de Raemond, p. 885.)

At this same time everything around him changed. The black horizon shone out brilliantly once more: the renown he sought from literature while within the Catholic Church, the Noyon beneficer sees beckoning to him in the theology of the Reformation. Just then he was favorably known as a humanist;(14) and his adventures marked him off to the Protestants as one of their own: they perceived clearly the services he could render to their cause: he was received with joy and reverence, and made much of. His company was sought after: his words listened for with admiration: he charmed and won over everyone. His fame went out from group to group; he visited Nérac: he was invited to Bourges, to Orleans, to Paris: everywhere he met with success. Glory had come in search of him. He himself was as much surprised as delighted. "I was quite amazed that before going away all those who were anxious to hear the pure doctrine came about me to learn it, although I was little more than a learner myself. All my retreats and spots of retirement became, as it were, public schools."

This brings us up to the autumn of 1534. Calvin was going on with his sermons, editing the "*Psychopannychie*" against the Anabaptists, in spite of the advice of Capiton, who thought the work inopportune and useless. Then there was the great idea at which he was also working, namely his "*Institution of the Christian Religion*," the great work of his life. Notwithstanding all this he avoided compromising himself. He was biding his time:

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(14) At Angouleme he was known as the "Greek from Claix," because of his knowledge of Greek, which he was always eager to show off in his conversation. Claix is the name of the little village where his host, Canon du Tillet was then living. (cf. de Raemond, p. 883.)

he went on playing a waiting game. Perhaps circumstances would yet fall in accord with his wishes, and play into his hands, giving him an important, perhaps even a brilliant rôle in the course of events.

The Protestant cause was far from being despaired of in France. At the court, Margaret of Navarre gave it her patronage, and Francis I could hardly make up his mind. It was in this very year that Noel Beda, Dean of the Theological Faculty, and implacable enemy of the Lutherans, was by order of the King arrested and thrown into prison as a preliminary to exile. The Faculty of Theology itself, which had censured the "*Miroir de l'âme*" and then been forced to make due reparation, was discredited by this profound humiliation. Moreover, William de Bellay, the King's Ambassador, was treating with Melancthon in the hope of arriving at a doctrinal *entente* between Catholics and Protestants, and bringing about a compromise of belief that would work for unity and peace (Du Bellay, "*Hist. Univers., Paris*," t. II, p. 256, etc.).

Every hypothesis was possible, every dream legitimate for the Lutherans in France; and it is not to be doubted that Calvin followed the trend of minds and facts with careful attention.

Suddenly once again in that troublous epoch the scene is changed, and hopes crumble. During the night of October 17, placards slighting the Eucharist were posted up and down Paris by the Lutherans, on the doors of the Louvre, of the churches and of the convents. They had been composed by Anthony Marcourt, chief pastor of Neuchâtel at the request of the Lutherans of Paris, and secretly introduced by Feret, with the help of the King's apothecary. This manifesto passed all bounds in its ex-

pressions, and was more than insolent in its tone. Its aim was to bring about the abolition of "that pompous and haughty papal Mass, by which the world (unless God soon grants a remedy) is and will be absolutely laid desolate, ruined, lost and engulfed." It categorically declared that "in spite of their teeth the Pope and his vermin, the Cardinals, bishops and priests and other Mass-saying caphars and all those consenting to them be counted as false prophets, damnable deceivers; apostates; wolves; hireling shepherds; idolators, seducers; liars; accursed blasphemers; murderers of souls; deniers of Jesus Christ, of His death and passion; false witnesses; traitors; thieves and ravishers of God's honor; and more to be detested than the devils . . ." These same placards were posted up at the Château d'Amboise where the court was staying, and one of them was even fastened on the King's door.(15)

The scandal in Paris was great, and indignation arose to violence. On the nineteenth the Chamber of vacations decided to take part in the expiatory procession from la Sainte Chapelle to Notre Dame. In all the parishes processions were ordered for the Sunday following. At the same time a price of 100 ecus was put on the head of a Lutheran: the Chatelet was filled with prisoners,

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(15) "Hist. des Martyrs," t. I, p. 299. "I have been told (let who will believe it) that one was even put in the King's pocket, in which he kept his handkerchief, and that when taking out the handkerchief he drew out the placard also. It is certain that when he had it read to him, he became incredibly zealous." (Fontaine, "Hist. Cath. de nostre temps," 1538, fol. 198. cf. Weiss "Bulletin," p. 257.)

and on November 10 began the long list of death sentences and executions. Then followed the flight en masse of Protestants from France.

It is very likely that the timid Calvin, who had long been suspected and who was closely watched by Lieutenant Morin, left Paris to make himself doubly safe.

However, Beza places the date of his departure after January 21, 1535. It may be that he still had hopes of seeing the storm blow over, and that the King would renew his efforts for conciliation. But Francis I knew now what he had to deal with: his faith was lively though not very enlightened; he felt very painfully the insult to his God and he was not slow to show it. January 21, 1535, saw him at Paris assisting at an expiatory procession with his "three children, bareheaded, and carrying a lighted white wax torch in his hands." On that very day the stakes were ablaze, and among his people he stood to watch them; then in the evening "in the presence of Parliament, the major part of the clergy, the nobility and the foreign ambassadors, he angrily protested that if he knew of one member of his body being infected with such teaching he would cut it off lest the remainder be corrupted." Beza remarks: "Many excellent persons went into exile on this account, and among them was John Calvin (Beza "Hist. eccl.," t. I, p. 34 sqq: Cf. Kamp-schulte, p. 246).

What were Calvin's intentions at that time? It is difficult to say exactly. With du Tillet he journeyed by way of Metz and Strasburg towards Basle, "the Athens of Germany," "the favorite haunt of the Muses," i. e., of Erasmus and his famous friends Glareanus, Capiton, Beatus Rhenanus and Froben. There Calvin lived in-

cognito under the name of Martianus Lucanius, working actively at his "Institution Chretienne," and studying Hebrew. He had been invited doubtless by his cousin Pierre Robert Olivetanus, for Olivetanus' "Bible" appeared June 4, 1535, with a preface by Calvin. Perhaps "the Institution" was completed in 1535; its preface to the King of France is dated August 23, 1535. The work appeared with Calvin's name and printed by Platter and Lasius of Basle in March, 1536. Calvin then thought of going back to Strasburg and continuing his loved studies, awaiting brighter times, but always fixed in his purpose "of living in retirement without being known" ("In Ps. Comm. Opera," t. XXXI, p. 22).

A journey he made to Geneva to visit du Tillet who was on his way back to Italy, suddenly decided his fate. He had intended to spend only a few days in Paris under the name of Charles d'Espeville. Perhaps even he visited at Ferrara, Renée de France, who was very favorable to the new ideas. Farel, who was then preaching at Geneva, and who was in serious difficulties, getting wind of Calvin's passing through, hastened to visit him, overjoyed at his good-luck. At any price he wanted to win over Calvin and keep him near him in Geneva. Their meeting was dramatic. Farel, an obstinate, determined man, wheedling and violent by turns, besought Calvin to stay in Geneva and take up the direction of souls. Calvin refused: he loved liberty, and his heart was in his studies. Perhaps even he was somewhat frightened at this new prospect. Farel could make no impression on him.

By what means or curses he backed up his arguments his questioner has never told us. We know only one

thing, that Calvin grew alarmed and then agreed to join in Farel's plans.(16)

Calvin's "Conversion" was now complete. And in his turn he set out to convert others and reform the Reformation.

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It is now clear by what chain of circumstances, and actuated by what motives of self-interest and disappointed ambition the religious transformation of John Calvin was brought about.

It is a long cry from this common-place story to the loudly vaunted "conversion," and M. Rod. Reuss is very near the truth when he writes with his usual frankness: "On my part I am inclined to agree with those who hold there never was a 'conversion' properly so-called; that is to say, a violent shock to his whole being" ("Bulletin," t. XLVIII, p. 556.)

This is not the place to criticize his work. However, the life of the reformer becomes more intelligible, his religious influence, so involved and so strange, appears under a clearer, if more curious, light when the causes leading to his defection from the Church have been established. Unlike Luther, who was the imitator of a

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(16) "Thereupon Farel (who was burning with a wonderful zeal to spread the Gospel) did all in his power to retain me. And hearing from me that I had some chosen studies which claimed my liberty, seeing that his prayers availed nothing, he went so far as to call down God's curse on the rest and guilt of my studies if in such a dire necessity I drew back and refused to assist him. His words so alarmed and disturbed me that I put off the journey I intended to make." (*Ibid.* p. 26.)

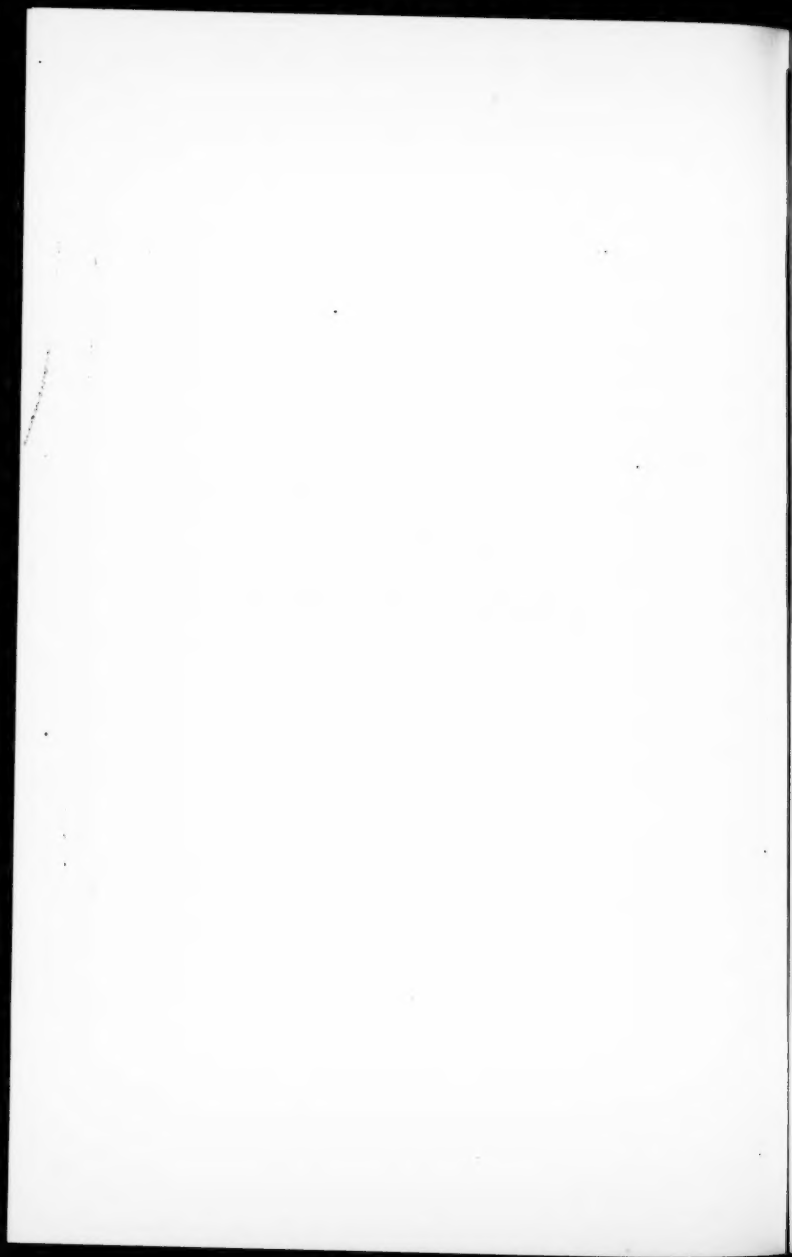
movement and the soul of a people, we understand how it was that Calvin was never more than the originator of a political party, and the brain of a sect.

PAUL BERNARD.



# **CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES**

**I.**



# Catholic Universities

## I.

*Pages Suggested by the Louvain Jubilee.*

A few weeks ago the Catholic University of Louvain was celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of its restoration by the Belgian Hierarchy in 1834. Moreover the long-talked-of idea of a Catholic university in Ireland, sufficiently endowed to enable it to live and prosper, seems to be at last on the way to realization. Then again the French Senate is at work, in a leisurely fashion that we cannot blame, on a profound study of the whole question of higher education, raised by M. Maxime Leconte's motion to repeal the law of July 12, 1875. The committee has got together the evidence and opinions thereon of the rectors of the various colleges and private schools.

This complexus of events has led us to ask what use have Catholics made of the freedom of higher education in places where it exists, and what is the part played by Catholic universities up and down Christendom in those countries where courageous spirits have ventured to found them. We are of opinion that a sketch of this nature, a balance-sheet so to speak, will not be useless, perhaps even will stir up energies that have been too long asleep.

The Catholic University question is a child of the nineteenth century. It began when State universities severed their connection with religion, or rather when not satisfied with being mere lay institutions they began to ignore all established religion and revealed teaching. For a time Christian traditions held ground in the uni-

versities, and the prudence of governments checked the daring of the professors, so that there existed a certain *modus vivendi* that in the main Catholics tried to put up with. But the ideal of the Church has always been a State university teaching in harmony with Catholic dogma, whenever a question affecting dogma arises. The least it asks is respect for dogma; and as soon as ever their Faith is attacked, much as they may regret the necessity, Catholics have always demanded their own universities. The question crops up sooner or later in every country according as the laicization movement, in the modern sense of that word, gains ground.

Some countries, such as Germany and Austria, have tried to meet the demands of Catholics by setting up Catholic theological chairs in certain universities, where the teaching staff and the scientific character of the teaching given were long ahead of our universities from 1808 to 1884. But the insufficiency of such an expedient is apparent. With the exception of a few popular lectures no one but clerics attend the courses given, and these very courses are naturally restricted to matters directly bearing on religion. Philosophy, history, the sciences, sociology, political economy, law, are all dealt with by their respective faculties, and the teaching given is, or at least may be, directly opposed to Christian beliefs. And while it is quite true that the tendency of these branches is towards specialization it is no less true that they all hang together, support each other and are intimately interwoven. Christianity postulates a certain cosmology, a certain philosophy, certain historical data; and if these are disproved Christianity makes shipwreck. A chair of Catholic Theology as an appendix to chairs of rationalistic and anti-Christian teaching is a farce if not

a danger ; what it builds is being constantly undermined by the teaching of the other faculties which sap the very foundations on which it rests. And hence it is that the only solution that can ever satisfy Catholics is either a State-aided Catholic university, or a Catholic university free and independent of all State control.

It necessarily follows from what we have said, that with the exception of Ireland and Switzerland, where liberty of teaching goes hand in hand with unity of religious belief, the question of Catholic universities in all the greater modern States is intimately bound up with the liberty of higher education. And especially is this the case in France.

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

Of all thoroughly Catholic universities—and of these alone will it be question in this article—the oldest is undoubtedly that of Louvain, which began in 1834, when the Catholics of Belgium were shaking off the protestantizing influences brought to bear during the Dutch regime in their country. Not only is it the oldest but it is a model for the others. In an audience with the Holy Father last Easter he held it up as a pattern for the bishops and Catholics of France. Why? What we saw with our eyes from May 9 to May 11, the speeches and statements we listened to then, brought it home to us more clearly than anything we had ever read in books or in the daily press. In the clearest and most convincing way we were made to understand the length and breadth and depth of the influence of the University of Louvain in building up the Belgian Catholic party, in securing its accession to office, in maintaining it there,

and in drafting many of the measures that party adopted. The closest union, between statesmen of the highest rank in the country, the Episcopate, and the university staff was the dominant note throughout the rejoicings and one that struck a Frenchman all the more forcibly because so different to what happens in France. Eight members of the actual ministry, including M. Schollaërt, President of the Council, are former Louvainists; three of them were at one time professors there; and they all took part in the festivities with a gaiety and whole-heartedness that did them honor. Grouped around the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin, president of the university, the Papal Nuncio, or the Rector Magnificus, they never missed an opportunity of proclaiming to all comers how much they owed to Louvain, and in this the President of the Council was the most insistent of them all. Moreover, with a broad-minded grasp of the needs of a future, perhaps by no means far distant, they were able to associate with these Catholic rejoicings the name of the Liberal municipality of Louvain, and in doing so they spared neither the praise nor compliments which its perfect courtesy justly entitled it to. For Louvain, that is, the university town, has always had a Liberal municipality. They tell you that the quiet of the good town-folk is so often interrupted by the students that they have no other means of keeping them in check; a Catholic municipality, they say, would not dare refuse them anything; and they even go so far as to whisper that the university authorities are by no means sorry to have to deal with a civil authority on whose leniency the dear boys cannot count overmuch.

The splendor of the festivities, and the attitude of the authorities, struck the Liberal press very forcibly. The

*Gazette de Liège*, a Catholic paper, drew up its own *compte-rendu* of the event by clippings from the Liberal papers, and the result was curious. Here, for instance, is a passage taken from the *Gazette de Bruxelles*, in which allowance must be made for some expressions startling to Catholic ears:

"The University of Louvain is a power, a great power. We know that only too well. How it applies its power, how it succeeds in guiding the Catholic army, how it accomplishes that permanent wonder of harmonizing, at least in appearance, the teachings of faith, science and modern thought, that is what one not brought up in their school does not understand and is constantly surprised at. But we had a glimpse of it yesterday at the opening festivities of the celebration of the Jubilee of Louvain University.

"It was fitting that the Louvain municipality, Liberal though it is, should not be indifferent to the event. No matter how opposed one may be to the Catholic university it would be childish or stupid to dispute that it stands for something noble in Belgium's past, and especially in the past of the ancient capital of Brabant. It was fitting, therefore, that the civil authorities should in some measure associate themselves with the festivities begun yesterday; and it was fitting, moreover, that the State should take a part, even were it not a fact, as it actually is a fact, that the State is in the hands of former Louvain students. But what excites our surprise and admiration is the clever manner in which the civil powers have been brought to take so large a part in the event, and the way in which things altogether foreign to the university have been skillfully introduced.

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"We notice all this without suggesting the slightest malice, without dreaming of blaming the organizers of the celebrations. They are within their rights, and we can even admire the method and dexterity with which they have acted. In looking at the festivities to-day one got a glimpse of the machinery behind the well-known power. One saw the cleverness, the wideawake opportunism, the quick intelligence, the skill in grasping and moulding events, by which a few men succeed in linking together the traditions they stand for with the present which must be got hold of if they are to continue to lead the masses.

"Those who have undertaken to resist this power have no easy task. Their opponents are no carpet-knights. They are not ignorant, simple men, shut up in their beliefs and their time worn dogmas. They are men up to date in thought and science, in the ideals of literature and the dreams of art, men whose aim is to create the impression at the proper moment that these things are not opposed to faith, and thus to gain control over new movements.

"Such was the impression left on us by the opening festivities of the university Jubilee, with its odd mixture of personalities, parts and ambitions."

The events referred to in the foregoing article occurred on the first day of the Jubilee, and included the inauguration of the Arenberg institute and of the exposition of the works of Constantin Meunier, the unveiling of the statue of Justus Lipsius, and the parade of all the Catholic societies.

Many of the greater Belgian families among the nobles and the burgesses, are wise enough to know what Louvain means to their little nation; and they have showered



gifts on it like that of the Duke of Arenberg, who has just given it a Chemical Institute. The Rector of the university, and the Minister of Arts and Sciences, Baron Descamps, thanked the Duke and his noble house in appropriate and well chosen words. The interior arrangements have not yet been completed, and meanwhile the bare rooms have been decorated with the works of that great artist, Constantin Meunier. His tragic vehemence with brush and chisel has caught, as no one before him, the toil and patient suffering of the working man, so much so indeed that the socialists were proclaiming, I had almost said appropriating, him as one of theirs. Very cleverly and logically the Catholic minister set out to prove that Meunier's work does not preach class-war. The author of the "Ecce Homo," of "the Trinity" of "Christ on the Cross," and of the "Pietà," is a Christian artist, and in his works treating of the people there is nothing that a Christian need repudiate. "The story has often been told," said the minister, "how at the age of fifty years there came to him for the first time the revelation of the world of industrial and associated labor; of those immense factories where the sternest and most heroic tasks are gone through with machine-like precision in an atmosphere blackened with coal or ruddy with fire. It was in the glass works at Val-Saint-Lambert that this hitherto unnoticed side of modern life came home to him; and ever afterwards he was haunted by the vision, and under control of the subject until finally he mastered it."

The special characteristic of humanity moulded by the conditions of work in mines, whether of coal or metals, had been only imperfectly treated by artists before his time. The more Meunier looked into it the

clearer his vision became; and confident of winning a hitherto untouched and ignored province for Art, he began work on canvases such as the "Going down into the mines," where he showed the patient miners huddled together in cages swung over abysses and hanging from frightful trestles.

In conclusion the minister added:

"When he died four years ago, worn out and exhausted, having\* spent up to the last, hours every day bright and cheery over his work, Belgium might well say it had lost one of its most illustrious sons, and Art might truly lament his loss. His works have been seen and admired in many lands. But it has been thought not without use to collect them here in this town which saw the birth of some of the finest among them. And I trust that this exposition, which is complete as far as the statuary goes (the branch of art in which Meunier showed at his best), will be the occasion of new studies tending to make the detail of his work better known, to classify it, and to fix as far as possible, and as is the custom in treating of masters such as he undoubtedly was, the history of each of his works down to the least, for in every one of them he has left the mark of his powerful genius and of his tender heart."

In the square outside an immense building of carved stones had been set up to receive the bas-reliefs and figures in bronze of the "Monument to Labor," exactly as the master had planned it. The effect was grandiose. But the Socialists and Liberals could not forget that a few years ago permission to erect this same monument in a public square had been refused on the ground that its signification was too subversive. "And lo!" says the *Gazette de Bruxelles* once more, "a Catholic poet, M.

Pontière, at the foot of the monument in the presence of His Eminence, all approbation, in the presence of the Bishops, of six ministers, and of the representative of the French academy, M. René Bazin, a Catholic novelist of genuine talent but of conservative ideals, boldly recited a sonnet celebrating the work, and received congratulations from everyone, even from M. Bazin, whose thin face, so very thin above that ugly robe with its green palm decorations, beamed almost as radiantly as that of the Minister, M. Helleputte. . . . It was a curious, a very curious sight, and altogether unexpected at the celebration of the Jubilee of the Catholic University. Everyone said it was a daring stroke." May we often win such praise from our opponents!

The same impression of wide-awake intelligence and skill were given when after a brief lunch in the wonderful hall of the Hotel de Ville, that gem of Louvain, we found ourselves before the statue of Justus Lipsius, the famous humanist and philologist, who brought honor to the university town at the close of the sixteenth century. Whereas Rotterdam boasts of a statue to Erasmus since 1549, Louvain had hitherto done nothing for Justus Lipsius. To make reparation for this forgetfulness the Catholic government offered to the town the long waited-for monument. In a new speech Baron Descamps traced with much detail and marked literary ability the laborious life of the great scholar, and concluded with these words: "This statue, the gift of the government to this ancient university Town, will stand henceforth on this Place de Brabant as an unmistakable proof of the admiration and gratitude of the Fatherland. I hand over to the town of Louvain this statue in honor of an illustrious Belgian, a fellow citizen by adoption if not by

birth, and the one among its professors who best symbolizes the glory of your ancient university. I trust the town will surround it with flowers, to rejoice the eyes of the passers by and remind them in that dainty way that the philologist of long ago who pored over the lore of dead centuries, loved the throb of living nature. That prince of savants, that 'torch of learning,' was a quiet, gentle, peace loving man, who lived up to the motto he chose, *moribus antiquis*."

In the name of the town, the Liberal Burgomaster warmly thanked the Catholic Minister. May we see in these little courtesies the beginning of a *rapprochement* between the Catholic party and a moderate Liberalism, which have so many common grounds on which to unite! We dare not draw conclusions owing to lack of sufficient evidence. Perhaps some such tactics would save Belgium, should the Catholics lose at election time, from a prolonged government by a "bloc" of the kind that exists in France.

The most touching part of the ceremony, and that which brought home to the spectators the social and political influence exercised by the University of Louvain, was the interminable but picturesque march past of the various societies and their banners. It had been laid down beforehand that none but societies founded by old Louvainists should take part in the parade, and the compact seems to have been fairly kept. However, only six hundred were expected, whereas one thousand came. For over an hour and a half the human stream flowed past the Rue de la Station, with banners floating in the sun and wind, some of them quite new, others old and venerable looking, but all artistic in design. When they came to the platform on which stood Cardinal Mercier

and the Ministers in uniform, the banners saluted, the bands played, and the air was rent with cheers. In the ranks side by side walked priest and layman, artisan, and tiller of the soil. And if there were but few of the working class representatives it was not that they do not form the majority in these associations, but that the cost of the journey and the demands of work obliged them to send but a few chosen representatives. These associations may have an electoral object, as for instance "Les Jeunes gardes Catholiques"; but for the most part they are founded for an economic, moral or religious purpose. Indirectly they affect the elections, because it is easy to round up at election times groups of men accustomed to meeting and knowing each other as well as the election candidates whom they have often seen at their social gatherings. As a matter of fact more than one hundred senators and deputies from Louvain are in the present Parliament, besides an endless number of administrators, governors of provinces, and functionaries of every sort.

All the speakers at the festivities insisted on the three-fold purpose of the University: its scientific, its social, and its religious aims. On the first day we realized its work in the social and political order. The next day was to be an academic one pure and simple.

It began with a solemn *Te Deum*, sung in St. Peter's, the principal church. Cardinal Mercier, the Nuncio, the Bishops, the visitors, the professors, the officers of the garrison, all took part. And it was a source of satisfaction to feel that of all the learned bodies represented there was not one that would not consider it an honor to number in its ranks him to whom the ecclesiastical hierarchy ceded first place.

When the Cardinal entered the great *auditorium* of

the College du Pape, the undergraduates who adore him (one of them even asked me with conviction if I did not think he would be the next Pope) gave him a great ovation. A few minutes later that same body, with a keen sense for benefactions rendered, and of legitimate gratitude to him whose prudence had brought about the stability of the Catholics in power, cheered for several minutes the venerable M. Bernaërt when he mounted the platform to present the address of the Belgian Royal Academy. Nothing could be simpler or more effective than this procession of forty delegates of universities and academies as in answer to their names they came to place in the hands of Cardinal Mercier the messages they bore, and receive applause more or less prolonged in proportion as the antiquity of their establishment, the quaintness of their robes, the great distance they had come or their personal notoriety appealed to the assembly. After M. Bernaërt, none was so vigorously applauded as M. René Bazin. The applause bestowed on Oxford, the eldest of the universities represented, brought home to a Frenchman that the Sorbonne was absent. And the thanks of Belgium, which properly belonged to France went straight to England. The Rector, Mgr. Hebbelynck, realized that the greatest homage he could pay the university and the clearest justification for the honors paid it by these foreign learned bodies was an unbroidered tale of its history and progress. We must be pardoned for imitating him; and this portion of our article will be of the most practical utility for those who are interested in the organization of Catholic universities.

In February, 1834, less than four years after the proclamation of Belgian Independence, at the instigation

of Mgr. Van de Velde, Bishop of Ghent, and of Mgr. Sterckx, Archbishop of Mechlin, the Belgian hierarchy decided to organize besides the theological courses, other chairs, in fact, a *universitas studiorum*, and before settling on a site in the old Brabant town, they recalled in a stirring proclamation to the Belgian people "the glory that for four centuries had belonged to the celebrated university of Louvain, wherein science, hand in hand with religion, had produced men eminent for their learning and their piety."

The budding work was entrusted to Mgr. de Ram who, with a remarkable talent for detail and administration, arranged all its essential branches beginning with the five traditional chairs so that ever afterwards all that was necessary was to develop it, step by step, with the march of science, the needs of the country and the particular requirements of each age. They understood at Louvain almost from the beginning that a modern university must not confine itself exclusively to the line of speculative thought, but that it should be a living thing, a brain, so to speak, guiding intellectual life in all its manifestations.

Now, under modern conditions intellectual activity caters largely to economic life. No one was more convinced of this truth than the immediate successor to Mgr. de Ram, Mgr. Laforêt. His name is bound up with the establishment of several special schools or *Ecoles* which, thanks to the generous help of the greater industries, he was able to endow with laboratories and museums. To-day the Louvain engineers' society numbers more than 1,000 members. To two professors of its mining school, William Lambert and Andrew Dumont, belongs the honor of discovering the oil basin of Limbourg. "We owe you thanks," ran the ornate phrase

of Engineer Hubert to Andrew Dumont, "for having set a black jewel in the crown of gems that adorns the brow of our Alma Mater."

The third rector, Mgr. Namèche, extended the work of his predecessor, in agricultural matters by founding, in 1878, a High School of Agriculture, which has given us such men as Proost and Cartuyvels, whose efforts for the amelioration of Belgian farming are beyond praise. It was also Mgr. Namèche who had the credit of inviting to Louvain Jean Baptiste Carnoy, the father of the teaching of cellular biology in Belgium, the founder of the institute that now bears his name and which was to transform so deeply the teaching of the faculties of science and medicine. The years that have followed 1880 have been throughout the Catholic world years of a wonderful and prolific intellectual reawakening. Thanks to efforts that had gone on before and to reflexions induced by the terrible events of 1870-1871, which led to the conviction that an inevitable duel between free thought and Catholic thought was at hand, thanks also to the impetus given by Leo XIII, studies took on a new vigor everywhere: new universities were founded: reviews were started: books were written that commanded attention. The clergy and laity alike entered into the movement with a noble confidence which the excesses and errors that are bringing about an imperative reaction have not yet quite abated. It is a repetition of what took place at the Renaissance after a period of overzealous enthusiasm: then the happy medium was struck. To these general causes must be added, in Louvain's case, the celebration in 1884 of the golden jubilee of the University, and the decisive victory of the Catholic party.



The impetus given was superb, and it was pointed out by Mgr. Pieraerts the Rector, in his speech in 1886.

Beside the many laboratories for microscopic work and cellular biology, human and comparative embryology, practical electricity, zoology, paleontology, comparative anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, and physiological chemistry, he could point to courses recently and spontaneously opened at Louvain in every department of law, civil, ecclesiastical and social, in clinical propedeutics, in medical deontology, in scholastic philosophy, in contemporary history, in philology, in modern Greek, in old German tongues, in comparative grammars of the Latin, Greek and French, as well as of the Aryan languages, to which we may add courses long existing in Sanscrit, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. Furthermore he could point to the multiplication and growing prosperity of literary societies and clubs for study. The task of the rectors always more or less difficult in one way or another became then a relatively pleasant one. They had only to let the wind fill the sails, content to bring up the wheel a point now and again and shout a hearty word to the crew. Such was the lot of the two rectors who were contemporaries with Mgr. d'Hulst, Mgr. Pieraerts and Mgr. Abbeloos, thanks to whom, from 1881 to 1898, Louvain kept its place in the advance of contemporary science. What were the characteristics of this advance? There were two principal ones: Increased specialization of study, and application of the method of observation or criticism in every branch of human knowledge. Along those lines profound modifications of the program and organization of their university were introduced by Mgr. Pieraerts, Mgr. Abbeloos, and after their time by Mgr. Hebbelynck. The rectorship of the first was brief but

brilliant. For eleven years, from 1887 to 1898, Mgr. Abbeloos, with a spirit of initiative and perseverance that claims admiration, thought only of encouraging personal effort among the students and of supplying them with the requirements essential thereto. "Every science is a living organism," said he in his inaugural discourse in 1888, "and to keep in touch with it daily application is necessary. Assiduity in the laboratories arranged for the different departments of the natural sciences, the reading of what great philosophers, classical writers, apologists, the fathers and doctors of the Church have written, all this is necessary over and above the study of text-books, good enough in their way, but insufficient by themselves. Original documents have to be consulted; the meaning of texts debated; and public debates carried on by the various clubs within the university; current literature must be kept in touch with; a rigid methodical criticism employed; and in all this, as the illustrious pontiff Leo XIII laid down in his encyclical on the study of history, all prejudice or bias must be laid aside and the truth loyally sought after. Such are the main characteristics of the scientific spirit which you should endeavor to acquire, and which only comes by hard work."

Courses of study dovetail into one another and complete one another, giving rise at times to schools granting special degrees. Such schools or institutes have each its own library, its review, its workshops, its collective bulletins. Therein the student meets the professor at first hand, and his ambition is stimulated by this intimacy with research work and the study of original sources. In the libraries and laboratories, the number of instruments was increased 100 per cent. during that

prosperous rectorship, as Mgr. Cartuyvels has told us. "Yet all the while," writes Professor Cauchie, "Abbebloos enjoyed very bad health; but whereas his constitution was frail, his moral energy supported him through his assiduous and endless labors; of delicate appearance, low sized and slightly stooped, the very peculiarities of his slim figure and the keen glance of his eyes betrayed the vigor of the soul within. Withal he was an open-minded, quick-witted man, endowed with a wonderful power of assimilation, and his zeal was borne out by the generosity of his nature and by the deep seated faith of his priestly heart."

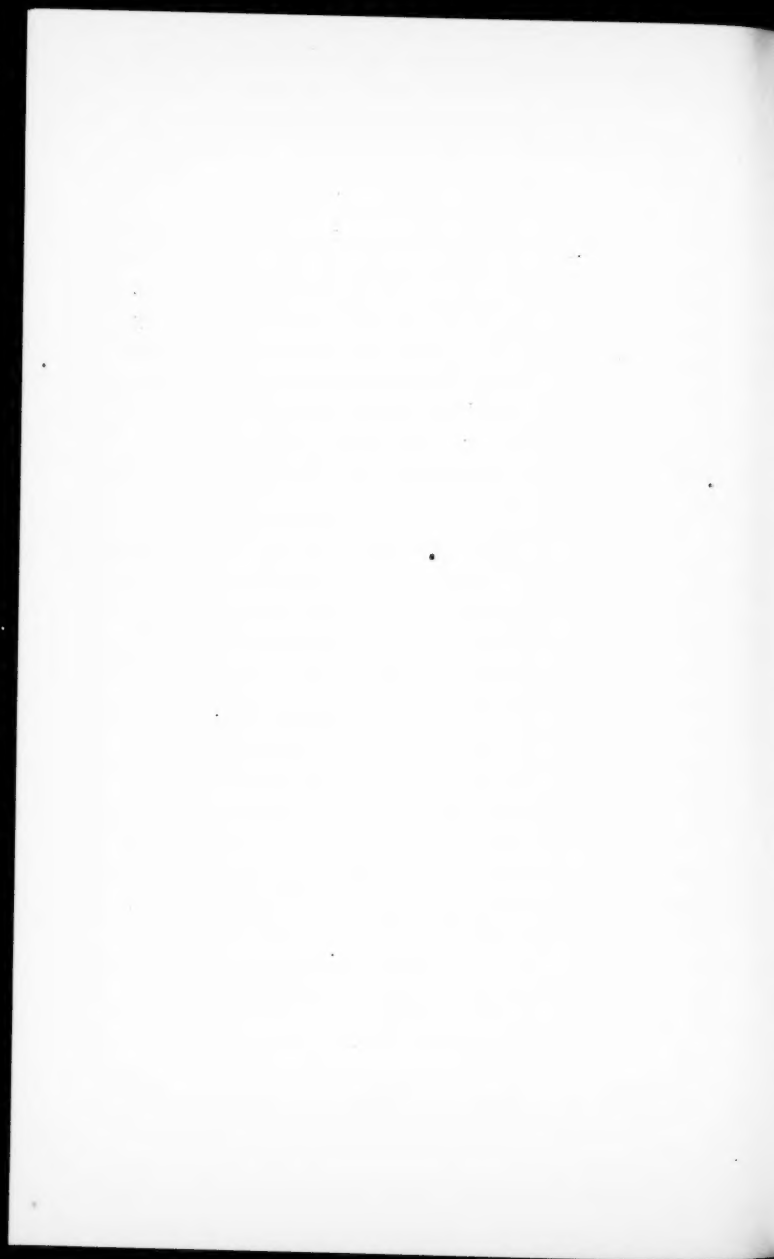
The tendency to greater specialization of study received in 1890 its legal consecration by the adoption of the motion of that illustrious jurisconsult and son of Louvain, M. Thonissen, at that time Minister of the Interior and of Public Instruction, relative to the granting of academic degrees and the standard of university examinations. The *rapporteur* on the motion was another Louvanist, M. Charles Delcour, Minister of State. The aim of the bill was to divide the old time Doctorships into Doctorships in special branches, and to encourage the foundation of Institutes which were gradually taking the place of the older faculties. By the institution of Doctors of Philology, of History, of Philosophy, the chairs of literature and philosophy entered definitively on the path the other chairs had taken.

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Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

In *Le Correspondant*, June 25.

(To be continued.)



# Catholic Universities

## II.

LOUVAIN (continued), DUBLIN, QUEBEC, MONTREAL,  
WASHINGTON.\*

The best known school in Louvain is the Higher Philosophical Institute, the work of Leo XIII and which actually bears his name. A few months after the Encyclical, "Æterni Patris" of 1879, that great Pope invited the Belgian Bishops to create a chair for the teaching of the Philosophy of St. Thomas.

In 1882, M. Mercier became its professor; in 1888 the chair became an Institute with M. Mercier as its president. The general Catholic Assembly which met at Mechlin in 1891, listened with the deepest interest to the young president's statement of what he proposed doing, viz.: to revive by contact with modern sciences properly studied, the teachings of scholastic philosophy, and assert in the name of philosophy its claim as the synthesis of all the sciences. The *Revue neo-Scholastique*, the organ of the Institute, pointed out its scope by its very title. Its program was open to indefinite development; the recent organization of courses for the study of social theories, and of a laboratory of experimental psychology shows that advance has been incessant. Students come from all parts of the world

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\*As our readers will perceive, the writer of this essay is not as well acquainted with educational conditions and institutions in America as he is with those in Europe. We shall soon have occasion to show how far he is mistaken as to the Catholic University of America.

to hear the lectures in the Institute Leo XIII, and the doctors it has turned out occupy to-day important chairs in many countries.

I should be remiss in my duty as historian if I did not give an honorable place to the *Seminaire Historique*, which dates back to the time of Jean Moeller, was organized by Jungmann, and is so worthily presided over now by Canon Cauchie. It comprises two sections, that of lectures on history and that of the critical study of historical sources. It has a periodical called the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, which, during the eight years of its publication, has won universal approbation.

Among the new bodies that have sprung from the old law faculty, the most important is the "School of political, social and diplomatic science" founded by Mgr. Abbeloos. The students meet for lectures and have a large library at their disposal. Under the guidance of their professors they have published upwards of forty original monographs bearing on interesting economic or political problems in Belgium or elsewhere.

Nor may we pass over the "School of Oriental Languages," made famous by such names as Berlen, Félix Nève, Lamy, de Harlez, Forget, Colinet, van Hoonacker, Abbeloos, Hebbelynck, Ladeuze, etc. Its review, the *Museon*, which has seen many changes, has also produced much valuable work. The "Philological Society," which owes its reputation to Pierre Willems, the historian of the "Sénat de la République romaine," is now under the care of Ed. Remy.

Here I must stop; but I have said enough to show the reader how the University of Louvain is evolving, and how it keeps step as I have said with the progress of scientific requirements.

What has been its success? What are the figures? In 1834 the number of pupils was 86; twenty-five years later it rose to 754; in 1884 it stood at 1,638, and to-day it counts 2,300, the highest figure it has ever reached.

In 1834 it had 13 professors, and their number now stands as high as 120, or double the number in the Catholic University of Paris.

Besides the courses in law and literature the University has 24 clubs for the study of French and Flemish.

It publishes 30 reviews or magazines. A bibliography of the works written by its professors runs into five volumes, and the last has an appendix containing an index of the specialized work produced by the pupils of the various clubs. The whole makes up a living witness to the co-operation of professors and pupils which is sadly lacking in French universities.

On a previous page I touched on the number of statesmen, politicians and administrators Belgium owed to Louvain. But we must not overlook the vast army of medical men; nor one of the greatest blessings of all, the part it has played in forming a prudent and well-balanced clergy. Mgr. Hebbelynck very properly pointed out "that in the ecclesiastical ranks their Alma Mater had watched over the scientific studies of fourteen bishops or archbishops actually alive; and among these are three Belgian bishops and the Cardinal Primate chosen from the university staff itself to fill the See of Mechlin. With no less pride can she point to an army of learned priests of intelligence and well-balanced judgment and eminently fitted to exercise the salutary influence over the moral and religious life of their fellow citizens.

Brought up in a school that shirks no problem of

contemporary criticism, initiated into the spirit and writings of those who do not share our Christian convictions, in the words of the great Bishop of Hippo they are able to unite opposition to erroneous teaching, with the claims of charity, and by their influence bring about the safety of the Faith without letting loose the waters of bitterness."

We are now in a position to understand the words with which Cardinal Mercier began his speech that won the applause of the great meeting on the 10th of May, when he quoted the famous passage from Tertullian: "Were we to desert the Empire; were we to abandon your towns, your islands, your fortresses, your assemblies, the camps, the army, the palace, the Senate, the Forum, leaving you nothing but your temples, you would be aghast at your own loneliness, and in presence of the empty silence around you, like the stillness of a world suddenly struck dead, you might well look about for some one to command." "Imagine for a moment," the Cardinal went on, "that in 1833 men like Sterckx, Delplanque, Van de Velde, Van Bommel, Barrett, Boussen, putting their trust exclusively in the help of Heavenly assistance had passively awaited the miraculous intervention of Providence to save the Church of Belgium; or that overawed by the greatness of the enterprise before them, they had doubted their authority or the intelligent, generous and continued cooperation of their flocks; or that, weighed down by the oppression they had hardly shaken off, they had lost faith in freedom. I ask you, my Lords and gentlemen, in the name of your patriotic hearts and Catholic souls, what would have become of our country?"

These sentiments, to which the Cardinal added the



hope of future progress, "for," said he, "a university is a living thing, and its evolution can never cease," rejoiced the hearts of the guests present, and were echoed by them, from the Nuncio, who declared that "for Belgium the Catholic University of Louvain is a mighty instrument for peace and prosperity," to Count de Franqueville, who spoke in the name of the visitors.

But who are to be thanked for this prosperity? The Catholics of Belgium, from their leaders the Bishops down to the humblest in the ranks, the artisan and the laborer. They did not hesitate or split into parties, as unfortunately has been the case in France. They wanted their own university, they wanted the best that could be had, and both morally and materially they did all they could to have it. In Belgium, the young men, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, do not, as in France, turn their gaze towards the State, weakly convinced that what it does is better done than what Catholics attempt. As Cardinal Mercier said, "The University of Louvain is the collective work of Catholic Belgium's devotion. It is the mighty result of many small gifts, of endless parish collections in which the poor man's nickel was side by side with the silver or gold of his wealthier brother." We referred higher up to what one noble family had done by giving a whole institute. The Bishops, too, never shirk from necessary sacrifices; and their wisdom and liberality have assured the financial stability of the university. Every year they audit the receipts and expenditure, and undertake to meet the claims for whatever improvements they authorize. If there should be a deficit they make it good; so that the staff are relieved of all but the moral and intellectual supervision of the university.

The Bishops get their funds (1) by collections made twice a year in every church and chapel within their six dioceses; (2) by house to house collections once a year by the pastors; (3) by gifts and individual legacies; (4) by drawing on their own resources in case the annual balance shows an excess of expenditure over income.

The annual budget is about \$240,000.

To resume, in two words, the work is understood and approved by the people, who all do their duty by it.

This does not mean that there are never bad times. "It may seem sometimes to you, my dear students," exclaimed Cardinal Mercier, "it may easily seem to you that what you see here could never not have existed at all, and you might easily believe that this institution which shelters you and which you have always known so flourishing, works as automatically as the earth spinning on its axis, as the changing seasons, in which the memory of seed-time is lost in the flowers and fruits of summer and of harvest time. But God knows, and the thoughtful observer can form an idea of, what three-quarters of a century of effort has meant!

At Louvain, as in France, the beginnings were small and uncertain; periods of groping, of timidity and of daring. It was no easy task to bring about homogeneity among the staff, to preserve harmony among men of varying characters and opinions. There were even doctrinal differences. "But," said Cardinal Mercier, "thanks to the strong will and perseverance of three generations of bishops, priests and laymen, and in spite of many wants and difficulties," these crises have been overcome.

The same energy and abnegation are still necessary to maintain Louvain at its high level. Two dangers

threaten it: one, a vague one, in the defeat of the Catholic party, which is splitting over the military question; the other, equally vague, but which becomes very acute in Louvain, I mean the question of race and language, of rivalry between the Flemish and the Walloons, which aroused in 1886, has gone on accentuating itself. By his warm eloquence and good-heartedness, which won for him the love of the students, Mgr. Cartuyvels had prevented many conflicts. After his time, in spite of a wise mixture of energy and tact, events have been stronger than men. The Students' Association split in two; the Flemish adopted the German cap and the Walloons the toque or skull cap. There have been many fights. During the celebrations everything was done to prevent such things. At the academic meeting addresses were delivered alternately by a student in French and in Flemish; on Monday there was a Flemish *musical* in honor of the illustrious composer, Edgard Tinel; on Tuesday we had a French *musical*. It was all no use; even during the parade of the Catholic societies, party songs and party mottoes were heard, and Cardinal Mercier was deeply pained. That evening there was a free fight and many students were wounded. As soon as the visitors had gone the University authorities had to dissolve the two societies. It is said that Cardinal Mercier intends to take a hand, and restore the general association of former days. God grant that he may succeed! The pity of it is that the students are backed up by some of the professors and bishops. One of the latter who sat near me during the representation of "Katharina," spoke of the matter with juvenile vehemence.

The aim of the Flemishers is to turn the State University of Ghent into a purely Flemish university. This

would mean the end of the glorious prosperity of Louvain and of the united action of Belgian Catholics. For three-quarters of a century, and above all for the last twenty-five years of it, they have been to us a magnificent example.

May they avoid the divisions which have been our ruin, and which have largely paralyzed the growth of our Catholic universities.

Among the delegates from foreign universities, one of the places of honor (the universities were classed in order of seniority) was given to the Rev. John Mahaffy, representing Trinity College, founded in Dublin in 1591. This famous institution is not, properly speaking, a university at all, but has long passed as one in popular parlance, and actually ranks as one.

It is Protestant in its origin, though since the Emancipation Act its doors have been ajar to Catholics, who might become students and win its degrees—nothing more. In 1843 a Catholic student won a scholarship there, but was disqualified from holding it because he was a Catholic. Moreover, the traditions of Trinity being essentially Protestant, it has always been looked on with suspicion by the clergy and faithful in Ireland. Eventually the government was made to realize this, and it began to look about for some means of satisfying the wishes of the majority of the population. Its first attempt was to impose purely secular education on Ireland; and with this end in view Sir Robert Peel in 1845 founded three neutral colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway. To these, in 1850, was added a State-appointed examining body, known as Queen's University. This secular system met with but scant praise from the Protestant party, and altogether scandalized the Catholics. The Synod of

Thurles condemned it, and Pope Pius IX was not slow in approving the action taken by the Synod.

Just at this very time the University of Louvain, emerging from many difficulties, was beginning to tread the path of success with no uncertain step. The Irish Bishops caught up the example of their Belgian brethren and began planning a university of their own. Once the plan began to mature the question arose who would best secure its prosperity? Under the shadow of whose name would it command most attention in the eyes of the world? The unanimous answer was that no one was more fitted for the task than that most illustrious of converts and most profound of English Catholic thinkers, Newman. He accepted; and in 1852, in a series of lectures delivered in Dublin, he was laying down a magnificent program as to the nature of a university. "He bowed down before theology as the Queen of Sciences and their necessary bond of union, and as the keystone of higher education, and thus he took his stand against the prevalent movement towards secularization of the universities, but at the same time he was careful to insist on the wide-stretching field that was the domain of science, and on the duty of training youth to the fulness of its intellectual vigor, and of enabling it to put itself against the problems before it in the world" (Thureau Danguin, "*La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIXe siècle*" t. II, p. 276.

The Belgian Bishops had done a national work at Louvain; the Irish Bishops wished to imitate them in Dublin, and perhaps for this very reason they made a mistake in calling in Newman, an Englishman to the backbone. His mind's eye was fixed rather on the elite of young Catholic England, than on the young men of

Ireland. Moreover, he chose most of his assistants from among converts, holding, and perhaps rightly so, that they were the best men, but nevertheless arousing thereby the distrust of the Irish clergy. Had he aimed a little lower to begin with, had he only realized a little more what was really practical, he could hardly have failed to give root to his labors and to have beheld them blossom into a mighty harvest. Unfortunately it was far otherwise. In 1858 Newman had to acknowledge his failure and resign his post. Then the University of Dublin sank into the vegetative scale. It might confer no degrees; it had no funds. All this was enough to paralyze it. Only the medical school, which the bishops founded at the same time as the university, has prospered.\*

In 1873 the Gladstone Cabinet fell, on the question of the Irish University Bill. In 1879 Lord Beaconsfield carried a measure for the creation of an examining-body to be known as the Royal University of Ireland, with the power of conferring degrees on all candidates found worthy, no matter where they came from or where they had previously studied. This was a more liberal plan than the one substituted in 1880 by the French Parliament for the short-lived system of *jury-mixte*. In France the students of non-State universities were obliged and are still obliged to pass their examinations not before an independent State examining-body, but before professors of rival universities. In England the State went a step further, and voted foundation burses that might be gained by students from either public or private schools.

\*How inadequate this statement is will appear to all who recall the reports of the Jubilee of the late administration of the Dublin University, which was celebrated October, 1908.

However, the University of Dublin gained very little from all this. Thereupon the College of Maynooth, founded as a seminary in 1795, set about erecting a Faculty of Arts and sending its students to stand the Royal University examinations. The majority of Irish Catholics still maintained that want of funds was the chief obstacle to the prosperity of the university; and they rightly argued that if in Ireland a Protestant or agnostic minority had its colleges endowed by the State, it was only fair that Catholics should receive equal treatment. The justice of this claim has at last been acknowledged by the present ministry, who have decided to grant Ireland a university which while not officially Catholic will be so *de facto*, and which will be State-endowed. Such is the compromise adopted by Chief Secretary Birrell in order to safeguard the principle of liberalism forbidding the employment of public money in denominational work, while respecting the other principle that a people has a right to the kind of education it demands.

How, then, does the new arrangement work out? Trinity College remains. The Royal University of 1879-1880 is dissolved. Queen's College, Belfast, Presbyterian *de facto*, though nominally neutral, becomes the University of Belfast, and remains *de facto* Presbyterian. Queen's College, Cork, and Queen's College, Galway, *de facto* Catholic, though nominally neutral, together with a third college to be established in Dublin, and which most likely will be none other than the former Catholic University, will constitute the new University in Dublin and be *de facto* Catholic. By clever arrangement the university authorities, drawn mainly from the County Councils and the professorial staff and the graduates, repre-

sent the feeling of the country, so that while in Belfast they are Presbyterian, they are Catholic in Dublin. Thus "it is the country itself which fixes the tone of the University."

To obtain a degree a student must attend the colleges of the University or its affiliated colleges. Maynooth College will be affiliated to the University in Dublin.

The University of Belfast will have the endowment of the former College of Belfast plus half the endowment of the former Royal University; the University in Dublin will receive the endowments of Cork and Galway Colleges plus half the endowment of the former Royal University, in all \$210,000; and the new Dublin College will receive a further endowment of \$160,000, making a total of \$370,000, to which the Government adds \$500,000 as a contribution towards the building fund. The generosity of private subscribers is counted on to provide the rest of the necessary funds. The Bishops have accepted this arrangement, though not without certain reserves. The spiritual and material interests of the work seem to be safeguarded as far as possible, and it is to be hoped that the Catholic University of Dublin after so many painful vicissitudes, is at last about to enter on an era of success, and is on the eve of the great things that have been so long hoped for.

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With the exception of this Catholic University there is no other in the British Empire save the famous Laval University in Canada, an independent institution maintained by the clergy and not endowed by the State. It grew, in 1852, out of the Quebec *grand seminaire* founded in 1663 by Mgr. de Laval, whose name it bears. Although originally it was to have belonged to Quebec



exclusively, the extraordinary growth of the population of Montreal and the rivalry of the two cities brought about in 1878 the creation of a twin university. Quebec retained the Rector, Montreal the Vice Rector, and each has four faculties. But in reality these faculties are altogether unlike what we know as faculties in Europe; and Laval University is rather an aggregate of seminaries or special courses, each having its own organization and funds. At Quebec and at Montreal the Seminary and the Theological faculty are one and the same thing. Quebec has 8 professors and 110 students (see 1907-1908 statistics), Montreal has 16 professors and 260 students. Then there are two Schools of Law, that of Quebec having 14 professors with 70 students, while Montreal has 15 professors and 90 students. There are also two medical schools: that of Quebec having 17 professors and 90 students, whereas Montreal with 12 professors besides some lecturers, has 200 students. In both cities there is an Arts Faculty, corresponding to the joint Faculties of Science and Literature in Europe; that of Quebec has 21 professors and 92 students, while Montreal with 16 professors has about 20 students, or exists merely on paper; it has, however, attached to it a Polytechnic School which counts about 100 students. The grand total for Quebec comes to 350 and for Montreal 700 students, making in all over 1,000, of whom 370 are studying theology, 160 law, and 290 medicine, all having in view the acquiring of knowledge in the particular profession they have chosen.

In glancing over these statistics the first thing that strikes one is the small number of students in Science and Literature; the number for the two cities together being hardly 100. (The polytechnic school of Montreal

is really a Central Arts and Crafts school.) Whence does this regrettable state of things arise? Either from the economic condition of the country or the straitened circumstances of families which cannot afford to give their sons the luxury of a liberal education unless it leads to some money-making profession. The students are poor and are constrained to work for a living during their studies; even seminarists are often obliged to take work in banks or trading houses during vacation time. Liberal studies hold out no future except to professors; nearly all the professors are ecclesiastics, and no degrees are required of them. Let us not be afraid to point out that therein lies a problem clamoring for the attention of all who have at heart the future of Catholicism and French culture in Canada. Doubtless no praise is too great for the work the Canadian clergy have done. If there is any culture, any French culture, in Canada to-day, it is owing to the clergy, whose zeal and patriotism are above all praise, and to whom our gratitude is due. Nevertheless it would be wrong to forget, in the present state of things, and in face of the many influences the people of Canada are now exposed to, that the clergy must make a new effort if it would not be false to its mission. It must build up a teaching body as learned, as accomplished in languages, history, and science, as any of the teaching bodies in the leading nations of Europe. Otherwise secularism and even anti-clericalism will find a fruitful soil in Canada, and will quickly destroy that atmosphere at once Catholic and French which is even to-day the charm, the strength and the honor of the Dominion.

The more enlightened of the clergy, and in particular "Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice," whose story is so closely bound up with that of Canada's progress, are fully aware

of this. When M. Colin, the distinguished Superior of Montreal, died in 1903, the Vice-Rector of Laval University was able to say in all truth that the University was mainly the work of that eminent man, that he was one of its founders, its faithful friend, its greatest benefactor, its staunchest supporter." And he added: "M. Colin, looking out with keen vision over the future of our country, beheld in this University a teeming spring of progress and development, a precious guarantee for the endurance of our faith and our traditions."

It was his wish that the University should be essentially in the hands of the Episcopate, and he often repeated that his own rôle and that of the seminary was to lend a temporary help in the beginning, but afterwards to hand over the whole work to the Episcopate and the Catholic laity. Referring to the birth-pangs of the University régime, the Vice-Rector added: "It is largely to M. Colin's gentle but unyielding influence, and to the prestige his personality carried with the teaching staff, that we owe the period of harmony and peace that followed the epoch of dissension and division that had existed previously."

It is to the initiative of M. Colin and Brunetière, as well as to the generosity of Saint-Sulpice, that is owing the existence since 1898 of a French chair in the University of Montreal. At the request of the Archbishop a French professor lectures there on the history and literature of France. The chair has been held by such distinguished men as M. de Labriolle, M. Laurentie, M. Leger, M. Arnould; and they find in M. Gillet to-day a worthy successor. His task is twofold. Besides delivering a course of daily lectures, he gives every fortnight a conference of a more imposing character to which the

public is invited. Actuated by a desire for knowledge, or by patriotic motives, an audience of 800 to 1,000 citizens leave their business affairs to listen to what is said of the great writers of the homeland. A fact like this is the best augury that the defects we have pointed out will be remedied as soon as ever the necessity is realized.

Even though I should cause some surprise to those who maintain the superiority in all things of our brethren of the United States, I am constrained to admit that the situation of the Catholic University of America at Washington is far from being on a level with that of Laval. And yet what hopes it gave rise to! What noble effort and generous sacrifice it called forth! And what a harvest all that must yet win for it!

It was in 1866 that the Bishops of the United States in the Second Council of Baltimore, first gave expression to their desire to have a university "in which all branches of literature and science, sacred and profane, would be taught"; but it was not till eighteen years afterwards, at the Third Council of Baltimore in 1884, that their plans were matured. Miss Mary Gwendoline Caldwell of Newport, Ky., had just placed at the disposal of the Bishop a sum of \$300,000 to erect a higher theological seminary and form the nucleus of a Catholic University. In 1885 a plot of ground was bought in Washington; in 1886 Bishop John Keane of Richmond was nominated Rector; in 1887 the new institute received the approval of Pope Leo XIII; finally, in 1889, the School of Sacred Sciences was opened in Caldwell Hall. Two years later, in 1891, the Rev. James McMahon, of New York, gave the Bishops a new site valued at \$400,000, on which buildings were quickly erected for the teaching of literature,

science, philosophy, sociology; other donations poured in and chairs were founded, laboratories added, a library got together, halls of residence for lay students and lay professors were erected, fellowships and scholarships were created. In a word, within a space of twelve years the young American University was installed and endowed in a manner to cause the envy of all Catholic Universities, and of many of the State Universities of the old world. It counted three faculties, namely: Theology (dogmatic, moral, biblical exegesis, and Church history), Philosophy (philosophy, literature, science), Law. Further, it had a technological bureau for the training of civil engineers, electricians and mechanicians. It was governed by an Administrative Council composed of the Archbishops of Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Paul, New Orleans, San Francisco, Dubuque, and New York, the Bishops of Peoria, Covington, Detroit, Cleveland, and Providence, besides three laymen chosen from among those of eminent social or financial standing.

By an Apostolic Letter dated March 7, 1889, Pope Leo XIII granted to the University of Washington the right to confer degrees in theology, philosophy, canon law and the rest according as the various chairs were opened. Faithful to the wise principles of the Roman Curia, he laid down as he had done in the case of the Catholic Universities in France, that the lectures in the canonical branches should be open not merely to those who had completed their seminary course. "In order that a greater number may more abundantly benefit from the teaching of the University in these various branches, leave these faculties, and especially those of philosophy and theology, open not only to those who have completed their studies in conformity with the decrees of the Third

Council of Baltimore, but also to those who wish to begin or to continue their studies."

Well, although the buildings are fine and funds abundant, in spite of the support of the whole hierarchy and the prudent advice of the Holy See, the number of students, and hence of professors, has remained very low. The latest statistics published by the University gives the total number of students as 120, with about 30 professors and lecturers. The most recent figures taken from *Minerva*, and which go back to 1906-1907, show a slight increase, but they demonstrate that outside of ecclesiastical students studying philosophy and theology there were not even then more than twenty students in law and about forty in literature and science.\*

From the outset there was rivalry between the professors of Irish extraction and a few German professors such as Pohle and Schraeder, who had been invited from Europe, and who were obliged to leave. Hence arose the opposition of some German-American Catholics. These unpleasant memories disappeared.

The first two rectors, otherwise eminent men, had never received a university training, and had no personal knowledge of what a higher educational establishment was like. The present Rector, T. J. Shahan, who has recently succeeded Mgr. O'Connell, nominated Auxiliary to the Archbishop of San Francisco, was formerly professor of Church History, and will doubtless prove more experienced.

It will be more difficult and more protracted to remedy the general reasons of failure. The Americans are not

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\* It is here especially that the writer manifests his superficial knowledge of the actual state of things in this country. Indeed, we publish this part of his essay because it will soon afford us an opportunity of showing how he misrepresents the University.

inclined towards higher studies, and with some few exceptions do not make a success of them. The only studies for which they have a taste are those that lead to the professions. That is true of all Americans, but especially true of the Catholics there, for the most part from Ireland or Germany, who are not always well-to-do, who are not wealthy enough nor leisured enough to take up a university course, and who in any case care little for religious questions and are content with their *foi du charbonnier*, rustic belief.

Those of them who take up the study of law and medicine often attend only evening school classes after having worked all day. Then again there is no lay preparatory college affiliated to the University; and seemingly the reason is because it is impossible to count on enough pupils to make it a success. As for the ecclesiastics, beyond the fact that they keep abreast of current topics, they are quite absorbed by mission work, and claim that for such work a very elementary theology is sufficient.

Young men, who by birth hold a certain position in the social scale of America, fear—or their parents fear for them—lest they should be cut off from their fellow citizens, from their own class, from their social equals; they are unwilling, for the benefit of those to come, to deprive themselves of opportunities useful or pleasant here and now; in a word, as I said at the beginning of this study, they will not risk becoming a *bande à part* and finding themselves isolated. So strong is this consideration that in some cases the interests of faith are sacrificed, while the remainder persuade themselves that the various safeguards the Church has established are sufficient to counterbalance the effects of rationalistic teaching.

Certainly such safeguards are necessary; and in the United States as in France they are the only protection for whole classes of young men; and those who have founded them, as well as those who carry on the work, are deserving of all our thanks. Often, indeed, they have paved the way—as at Paris, the *Cercle du Luxembourg* and the *Conférence Olivaint*—for Catholic Universities, and they have done good work, entitling them to recognition. Such, as a matter of fact, is the case of the evening classes, started by the Jesuits at Washington in 1854, and erroneously known as the University of Georgetown, which consists of lectures on medicine and law, attended by about 600 young men. But whatever the utility of such institutions, truly and solidly Catholic families ought not to forget that there is something better, namely, an education thoroughly Catholic in every sense of the word. When Catholics fully realize this, the Catholic University of America and the Catholic Universities of France will be face to face with an element of prosperity that even dollars cannot compete with.

ALFRED BAUDRILLART,

Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

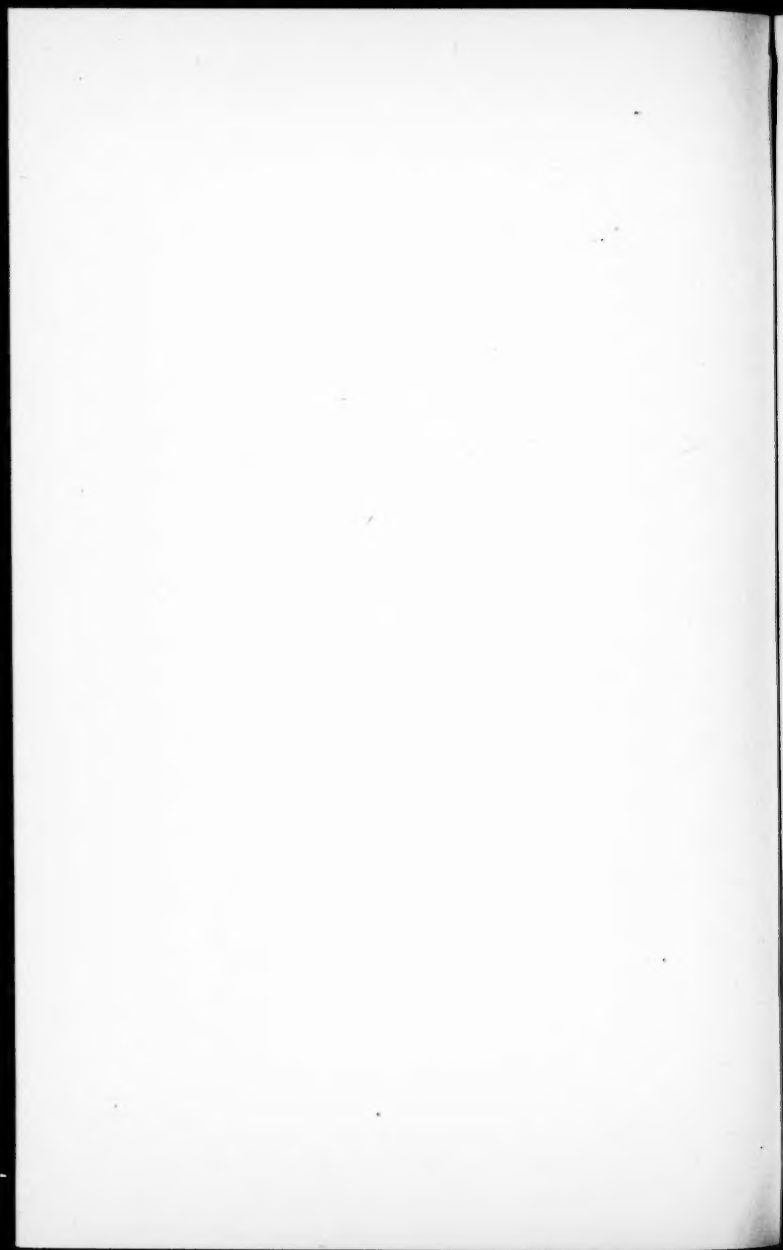
In *Le Correspondent*, June 25 and July 10.

(*To be continued.*)



**CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITIES**

**III.**



# Catholic Universities

## III.

From young America let us turn to the centre of ancient civilization along the Syro-Phoenician coast of the Mediterranean. At Beirut, as at Georgetown, we find the Jesuits and one of the most unique and interesting products of their apostolic zeal; interesting in itself, equally interesting for the Church and for France; I mean the University of St. Joseph.

It was in 1831 the Jesuits reopened their Syrian mission. Eight years later they established themselves at Beirut, at that time a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and now numbering 120,000. In 1841 they opened a school. In 1843, at the request of Propaganda and of the Oriental Patriarchs, they began an Oriental Seminary at Ghazir in the palace of a hill-tribe Emir. The work was interrupted by the Druse war against the Christians, but begun again 1846. Nine years after this a college was opened in connection with the seminary, and the work made great progress. In 1859 they had 80 seminarists and 120 college pupils.

Soon they had to transfer their work to Beirut itself, where in 1866 the American Presbyterian body had opened a flourishing university. Beirut offered more scope than Ghazir. The difficulty of funds and of a site put off the work for several years. Finally, in 1875 seminary and college opened their doors to students in Beirut, in the very buildings the university occupies today. Moreover, they took the title "University" in

order not to leave the Protestants a monopoly of that high-sounding name in Oriental ears. The decrees of 1880, which drove the Jesuits from their colleges in France, allowed them to increase the number of professors at Beirut, and the teaching of theology, philosophy, and science was carried on in a regular way. The next year Pope Leo XIII approved the work done by canonically erecting it into a University with the right of conferring degrees and diplomas in philosophy and theology corresponding to the degrees of the Gregorian University in Rome. At first only the seminarists might gain these degrees, but very soon a classical baccalaureate was established for lay students. It was divided into two parts; and it was an easy matter to obtain from the minister of public instruction that it should count in the case of young Orientals who wished to continue their studies in law and medicine in France. Pupils of French nationality studying at Beirut may not use this privilege, but they are free to pass the ordinary baccalaureate examination at Smyrna or Constantinople before the examining body chosen by the *Ecole Française* at Athens. French pupils receive at the end of their studies a certificate analogous to our present day baccalaureate.

The College of Beirut usually has from 450 to 500 pupils, the seminary 70, divided between the Syriac, Chaldaic, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Maronite and Latin rites. In the year 1907 it had already turned out 230 priests and 21 bishops, including 3 patriarchs. The Minister for Foreign Affairs used to make a grant of \$3,000 to the college for burses for boys chosen by the French consul; in 1905 this grant was reduced to \$1,400, and in 1906, following the disastrous visit of M. Charlot, it was suppressed altogether.

Gambetta and Jules Ferry were more sensible and more devoted to the interests of France when they showed an interest in the creation of the medical school which in 1883 was added to the Faculties of Philosophy and Theology.

The first constitution which is, so to speak, the foundation charter of the school, was sent to Father Normand, at that time superior of the Syrian mission, by Jules Ferry, September 15, 1883. Four years later the first course of instruction was mapped out by, and examinations for degrees passed in the presence of, Doctor Villejean, Professor at the Faculté de Paris, who had been delegated by M. Goblet, the Minister of Public Instruction. Following another inspection, and the report of Dr. Landouzy, who bore witness as his predecessor had done to the satisfactory working of the school, and to the necessity of fostering its development, the then Minister, M. Lockroy, by a decree of October 6, 1888, re-organized the course of study and decided that the students should receive the degree of Medical Doctor from his department, subsigned by the Minister of Public Instruction, and that henceforth the school should be known as a Faculty.

This Beirut diploma was recognized by the Egyptian Government in 1890 but not in Turkey. Those students who wished a Turkish recognition had to risk the fortune of a "Colloquium" at Constantinople, which often amounted to a fresh examination. Moreover, though this French diploma entitled its holder to practise in the French colonies, it did not hold good throughout the Republic. A new step was taken in 1894, when the French ministry decided that henceforth graduates of the Beirut Medical Faculty might obtain in Beirut itself diplomas

equivalent to those issued in France. This gave rise to greater difficulties in obtaining recognition from the Porte; and it was not till 1898, after long negotiations by Father Cattin, chancellor of the Faculty, with the active support of M. Cambon, that an arrangement was entered into between Paris and Constantinople. Henceforth a Turkish committee would join the delegates of the French Minister of Public Instruction, charged to assist at the Medical examinations at Beirut. Physicians and chemists received a twofold diploma; that of the French Minister of Public Instruction and that of the Imperial Faculty of Constantinople. In 1908 the Medical Faculty celebrated the twenty-fifth year of its foundation; during those twenty-five years it had graduated 361 physicians and chemists actually practising up and down the Ottoman Empire, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Anatolia; some are in the Isles of the Archipelago, in Greece, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in Abyssinia, in Senegal, in America; some are out in Tonkin, and some are even in France.

At the present time the number of pupils is over 230, cooped up in class rooms originally intended for 60 pupils. In 1907 a preparatory school was added to the Faculty.

The professors are presented by the Chancellor, and nominated by the French Minister of Public Instruction, after consultation with his colleague for Foreign Affairs; the French Government pays the professors it nominates; and the professors sent each year to assist at the examinations are unanimous in praising the teaching of the masters as well as the ability of their pupils.

In 1902 the course of higher education was added to

by the creation of an Oriental Faculty; a school of philology, in which the study of Arabic occupies the place of honor. The facilities offered by the situation of Beirut in an Arabic-speaking country, and by the rich library of 100,000 printed volumes and 1,500 MSS. possessed by the University, guarantee the student from Europe every opportunity for a deep and searching study of that language. For students who intend teaching Scripture, there are, besides the Arabic classes, lectures in Hebrew, Syriac, Archeology, Epigraphy, History, and two classes of exegesis.

This Faculty is, so to speak, a younger sister to the *École pratique d'études bibliques*, founded in 1890 at Jerusalem by the Dominicans and which is so ably conducted by Father Lagrange.

The Beirut Oriental Faculty welcomes auditors from all nationalities and religions provided they give satisfactory credentials of previous study and good character usually required from any student in a Catholic Faculty.

The scientific rôle of St. Joseph's University is seconded by a Catholic printing establishment, attached to the University since 1853. Originally intended to supply school books and works on controversy, it has never neglected works of a more lasting nature. Its handbooks of the classics, and its two reviews, *Machriq*, founded in 1898, and *Mélanges de la faculté orientale* (1906), are in demand by Orientalists all the world over.

In every sense of the word it is a truly scientific and thoroughly French work that is being carried on at Beirut. May it not be quite forgotten by the most sectarian of our French fellow citizens.

Returning once more to Europe, and leaving the blue shores of the Mediterranean, we find nestling among the glaciers of the Alps, and claiming our admiration, another product of Catholic intellectual fecundity, the University of Freiburg, founded in 1889. It is mainly the work of one man, whose name merits the respect and gratitude of all Catholics and above all of French Catholics, State Councilor Python, director of public instruction in the Canton of Freiburg. Passionately and intelligently devoted to his country, he transformed it by his daring and raised it to foremost rank among the Cantons of Switzerland. Catholic in the best sense of the word, he has an intuition of and devotion to the widest interests of the Church. An hour's conversation with him makes one see how thorough is his sympathy with the Church's needs; they reecho in his very soul. And withal, he retains the balance, the sense of proportion, the clarity of judgment between what is essential and what is not, which are so characteristic of Swiss statesmen. He has shown himself the benefactor of the exiled French religious; while obeying the Federal Laws he has been able to find work for the religious in bringing about the realization of his dreams for Freiburg. Never can they forget what they owe to his generosity and resourcefulness. Such is the man who, together with Decurtins, the Sociologist, planned the University of Freiburg, and carried through their plan. It was indeed no small problem to establish it and provide for it in a little agricultural canton of 20,000 inhabitants, hemmed in by the three neighboring universities of Berne, Lausanne and Geneva.

It was quite clear that Catholic Switzerland could never keep up a supply of masters and students; so



straightway M. Python planned to make it international and the idea appealed to the Catholicity of his mind.

Then again he realized that Freiburg standing on the border line of two languages and two cultures, the one French, the other German, a university there might be a sort of meeting ground for Latin and Germanic civilizations. So he modeled it on the universities of Germany, but gave France a preponderating influence on its professorial staff. The University of Freiburg was founded, and had life within it; it had its own distinct characteristics, its merits and demerits, since every organization has its drawbacks.

**Its characteristics and merits.**—Professors and students are drawn from all parts of the world; there are Germans, Englishmen, Swiss, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, and Slavs of many nations.

Taking the statistics of students for the current half year, 1909, we find: 179 Swiss, 98 Germans, 88 Poles and Lithuanians, 66 Frenchmen, 34 Bulgarians, 25 Italians, 23 Austrians, 21 Americans from the United States, 9 Dutchmen, 6 Englishmen, 6 Luxemburgers, 6 Christian Turks, 4 Spaniards, 2 Canadians, and one each from Greece, Norway, the Republic of Ecuador, Tunis, and Australia.

This varied gathering is incontestably a benefit for the students who find themselves in an assembly of all the civilizations, races, tongues and ideals of the whole world, and who can draw their own conclusions. It is good also for the professors, apart from any rivalry it is bound naturally to excite among them.

On the other hand, these rivalries occasionally give rise to difficulties and inconveniences, which find vigorous vent even in the professorial staff. German and French pro-

fessors quarrel over preponderance in each faculty; thus a few years ago thirteen indignant German professors suddenly resigned, and in revenge all the German Universities throughout the Empire indulged in petty spite against the University of Freiburg. It takes all the authority and tact of the Director of Public Instruction to keep peace and harmony between the opposing forces. The defect of the system shows itself also in the choice of professors. Concessions have to be made to the various sections clamoring, as the case may be, that Germans from Germany or Frenchmen from France shall be appointed.

The result is that Catholic Switzerland, and particularly Italian Switzerland, is sacrificed, and that the University of Freiburg, all very well from an International point of view, runs the risk of never becoming what Louvain is for Belgium, a grand intellectual centre reacting on the religious, scientific, political and social development of Swiss Catholicism; and truly in the presence of such Protestant or rationalistic centres as Berne, Lausanne, and Geneva, such ought to be its main endeavor. It ought to be our wish that the skill and perseverance of M. Python will find a way to conciliate the two factors, and preserve to the University its international and its national characters. Modeled on German lines, as I have said, and consequently very independent in the choice of professors, the task is by no means an easy one.

From a French point of view the governing body and the Minister of Public Instruction have realized the importance of France exercising its influence on the confines of French culture. The younger professors who teach at Freiburg are regularly registered in France and

the years they spend at Freiburg are counted as though they had been teaching in France. One of them, M. Michant, after a brief stay at Lille was appointed to the Sorbonne.

It has been made a grievance against the Governors of Freiburg that nearly all the chairs of theology and of philosophy are held by Dominicans. But it was no easy thing for a Catholic University, which was at the same time a State University not directly dependent on the bishops, to have acted otherwise. The great thing was to secure guarantees of orthodoxy; and in such a delicate matter as the choice of professors, it would never do to have it exposed to the vagaries of interests and opinions or even to the selection of a Director of Public Instruction who might one day or another belong to the radical party. Moreover, the Dominicans furnished a considerable pecuniary bond and founded besides an important hostel for ecclesiastical students. If we look at the scientific side which comes next after the orthodox we are constrained to admit that the Dominicans have made their Faculty one of the most reliable and brilliant in Europe.

Besides the Faculty of Theology, the University of Freiburg has three others, law, literature or philosophy, and science. There is no medical faculty yet, but hospitals and clinics are being built. It has more professors than the *Institute Catholique* of Paris, the respective numbers being 71 and 60, whereas Louvain has 120. As is the custom in Germany they are divided into three grades—ordinary professors, extraordinary professors, and *privat-docents* or tutors.

The number of registered students not including unattached auditors or hearers, varies from 550 to 560; for

the first term of the current year the number has been 569 (203 in theology, 127 in law, 108 in literature, 131 in science). The number of unattached hearers is generally about 100.

Under the shadow of the University many institutions flourish: the old College Saint-Michel, one of the best in Switzerland; the new College or Villa Saint-Jean for French students, admirably carried on by the Marianites, to whom so many families have remained faithful in their exile; many young girls' schools for those who wish to prepare for degrees; many scholasticates belonging to religious congregations; hostels for ecclesiastical students, and boarding houses for lay students. In a word, Freiburg has become in every sense of the word a University town, with all its joys and woes. On certain festival nights the good townsfolk get little more rest than those of Louvain on similar occasions; but they are proud of their young stalwarts in their gaudy dress, brimful of strength, honesty, faith and devotion to the Church, and who after all are quite right not to wear these blessings like mutes at a funeral.

In twenty years Freiburg has produced many useful works. In the beginning the University exacted a certain homogeneity between the works published and the course of study gone through during the year. But since 1893 it has been engaged on quite an independent collection. The "*Collectanea Friburgensia*," which has already reached eighteen volumes, contains an edition of the "*Pensées de Pascal*," by M. Michant; "*Saint Beuve avant les Lundis*," by the same author; an "*essai sur Taine*," by Victor Giraud; "*Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au xiii siècle*," by Father Mandonnet, and some important works on Scripture and the religion

of Israel, by Father Zapletal, etc. The *Revue de Fribourg* is the organ of the University, its friends and its alumni. French professors—Abbé Breuil, M. Brunhes, M. de Labriolle, M. Gariel, M. Gerardin, M. Masson, Father Mandonnet, Father Roussel, M. Max Turmann, M. Zeiller—play an active part in this intellectual life. They are devoted to the University and the town of their adoption; but they never forget that they stand for France and its ideals. I betray no secrets in asserting that in the history of the organization and progress of the University, M. Jean Brunhes in particular has often been wise in council and fortunate in suggestion.

Freiburg is undoubtedly one of the most luminous centres of Catholicity in Europe. In the number of its professors and students, as well as in the importance of the work it does, it ranks with that of Lille, immediately after Louvain and Paris.

And now it only remains for me to speak of the Catholic Universities in France, since the other Latin nations are behind France and have none at all.

Article 12 of the Spanish constitution recognizes the principle of liberty of teaching in all grades. As a matter of fact no organic law has ever been promulgated concerning higher education in private schools. Although as a rule, in Spanish Universities more respect is shown the Christian religion than is the case in other countries, yet the situation is such as to cause no small concern to the more clear sighted of our Spanish brethren. For many years now plans have been in the air, but so far unfortunately nothing has come of them. However, on October 31, 1908, there was opened at Madrid in the buildings of the Central Social Defense Association, a Catholic University Academy. The

Bishop of Madrid was the founder, and the patrons include many of the most distinguished representatives of Madrid society. The Marquis de Comillas is president; the vice-presidents are the Marquis de Pidal and the Marquis de Santillana; and the religious orders are represented by a Jesuit and an Augustinian Father. The object in view is to offer to the young men, who flock to Madrid for studies of every nature, an intellectual centre and an assistance that would be thoroughly Catholic. It has two chairs devoted to the higher study of religion and philosophy, and the latter has been entrusted to one of Mgr. Mercier's most remarkable pupils at Louvain, Abbé Zaragüeta. There are thirteen other chairs dealing with sociological and political subjects. Moreover, three laboratories have been erected, one in connection with social science, one with political affairs, and the third, which has to do with general culture. If public favor smiles on the enterprise and if funds are forthcoming, new chairs will be set up, beginning with what is most urgent for the defence of Christian doctrine. The enterprise is worthy of all our sympathy, and may be considered as the beginning of a Catholic University.

In Italy, with the exception of the great Roman Universities reserved for ecclesiastical learning, higher courses in theology, scholastic philosophy, canon law, and about a dozen pontifical faculties of theology which are but examining bodies, there exists no private university and so far the State does not allow one.

But the question has arisen; and the echoes of the Louvain festivities joined to a recent congress of Catholic students has given it a new importance. A letter from a special correspondent to the *XXe Siècle* of

Brussels, on May 17, contains much interesting information on the subject.

In Italian as in German and French Universities the atmosphere is mainly rationalistic, positivist or materialistic. If there happens to be here and there a chair of religious or of Christian history it is generally in the hands of atheists. Quite recently there was talk of giving Minocchi a chair in Scripture at the University of Pisa. But we must not paint the picture all in black. The State Universities in Italy as in France have very often among their professors and among the most distinguished of them, men of every Christian virtue. The whole world knows S. Toniolo, a professor at Pisa; he has many colleagues in the faith, and he has turned out pupils who are already teaching with success. And it was but fitting that side by side with S. Toniolo at the opening of the Catholic University Congress stood the young and brilliant professor of law at Genoa, M. Boggiano. But on the whole, higher education is none the less tainted with irreligion. Those who wish to escape it have no option but to attend a foreign University. One bishop of Northern Italy sends a half dozen students every year to Louvain, Freiburg or Munich. Some laymen do likewise, but only the few can afford it.

Hence it is the dream of many Catholics in Italy, even among the students, to have one or two universities of their own. Unfortunately there is but little hope of its speedy realization.

ALFRED BAUDRILLART,

Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

In *Le Correspondant*, June 25 and July 10.

(*To be concluded.*)





# Catholic Universities

## IV.

FRENCH UNIVERSITIES: PARIS, LILLE, LYONS, ANGERS,  
TOULOUSE.

As far back as 1861, in a work entitled "Religious Studies in France from the Seventeenth Century to Our Own Times," L'Abbé Duilhé de Saint Projet, who was one day to be rector of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, having described the work of the Belgian Episcopate at Louvain, exclaimed: "What might not the French hierarchy do in the heart of a nation that sways the civilized world?"

The notion that France ought to have one or more Louvains, and that the Catholics of France ought to be as successful as their Belgian brethren took possession of many hopeful and resolute minds in France, and went on gaining ground until it won if not general approval at least the support of the Conservatives and genuine Liberals of the National Assembly. Some few, calculating on the basis of the prosperity of the free colleges, and forgetful of the strange power of contrariness and apathy displayed by so many Catholics, built up castles in Spain. Among these was Père d'Alzon, who in a report he drew up in 1872, which is otherwise remarkable for its sane and practical views concerning the organization of higher education in private schools, actually proposes the question—though he gives an affirmative reply—as to whether State Universities could exist and ought to exist after liberty of education had been proclaimed. Then, again, there was good M. Beluze, who made the same

reckoning, and calculated on at least 500 students in the higher branches he founded at the Cercle Catholique du Luxembourg, pending the vote on the law, and who was very surprised to find he had only twenty-nine applicants, a number that ought to have made him reconsider his views.

"What were the aims of our original founders in the presence of this flood of ideals and systems?" asks Mgr. Baunard in one of the splendid speeches he has included in his book "Vingt ans de rectorat," "and what did these good and faithful men expect from you and me? They had dreamed a fair dream, in which they saw our higher *Instituts* filled at least in a measure proportioned to the numbers in our many flourishing colleges. The disciples of truth were sure to become its apostles. These thousands of young folks would soon be men, and as men would be qualified and old enough to take the lead in business, to the control of which they would bring these indispensable treasures of learning, devotedness, disinterestedness and honesty, which at the present time in France are the very things that are most needed. No doubt there would still be struggles. But we should be numerous enough, trained and equipped enough for the struggle; and thus massed in military formation perhaps the victory would be ours. God would not refuse to help us. Seeing us help ourselves He would assist us. And the final blessed result of the dream would have meant the liberty, the religious greatness, the moral, political, economic, scientific, aye, even military glory of France.

This magnificent dream was never realized. Of the five Universities founded immediately after the promulgation of the Law, 12 July, 1875—a number that has since proved excessive, but which did not seem so when

the size of France and the numbers in our colleges were balanced against what was taking place in Belgium—of these five universities, not one has played so complete a rôle, not one has had so thorough an influence as the University of Louvain, and we must even go so far as to admit that not all of them put together have done what Louvain has done.

The University of Lille, alone, has almost attained its object, and has come near to Louvain, and it has had in consequence to put up with more violent hostility than any of its sisters. It was opened amid surroundings analagous to those in Louvain, in a district where Catholics are numerous, powerful, rich, independent and organized; it was able from the beginning to boast of a complete corps of faculties, to stand on its own feet, and declare its entire independence of the State; it has been a local university, the flower and fruit of an ardent and enlightened patriotism in that neighborhood. That of Angers, though in a lesser degree, profited from similar circumstances, and took up a similar stand in the West; but it could never lay claim to an influence like that of Lille because its surroundings were less the home of activity and industry, of wealth and of enthusiasm. It was at a disadvantage in the fewness of its pupils and in its lack of resources. At Paris the students, though more numerous than elsewhere, were, so to speak, swamped in the flood of pupils of every class that thronged to the lectures of the faculties of the State and to its higher schools. The building itself, in so populous a town, a town so rich in prosperous and famous establishments, could hardly claim that attention or call forth that feeling of pride which in a smaller town would be the fortune of any new enterprise even moderately acceptable to the majority.

Making due allowances Lyons suffered the same drawbacks as Paris, and had too few students in proportion to the territory it drew from. Finally, from the very start, Toulouse had a large preponderance of church students.

In order that a university should succeed in winning that place in a nation which Louvain holds in Belgium, and thoroughly fulfil its triple mission, social, intellectual and religious, it is absolutely necessary that the proportion of students to the totality of the better class inhabitants should be relatively high. Now numbers have always been lacking in our French Catholic Universities; even at the best of times—and some have been very wretched—Paris has rarely exceeded 700, Lille and Lyons 600; at the present time and for some years past the average at Paris has been 670; from 550 to 600 at Lille and Lyons; about 250 at Angers; 100 at Toulouse, which makes in all a grand total of about 2,200, just a little below the maximum figure, 2,300, reached this year at Louvain. (Let it be remembered that I speak of students on the books, not free auditors.)

Now, even admitting that the 2,200 represent the elite, it is hardly enough for a nation of 38 million inhabitants, especially if we remember that in Paris alone the State Faculties have more than 17,000 students.

What is the reason for this almost disheartening abstention of such a large majority of our Catholic youth? All the rectors, and especially Mgr. d'Hulst at Paris, Mgr. Baunard at Lille, Mgr. Dadolle at Lyons, Mgr. Pasquier at Angers, have over and over asked themselves this question with bitter anguish in those inaugural addresses in which they have so courageously faced a veritable examination of conscience.

In the first place, surely, because of the war that is waged against us unceasingly. The beginnings of our universities coincided with the coming to power of those who were opposed to their establishment; and they have hampered our progress in every way. Liberty was granted us only in most niggardly fashion and under all sorts of conditions and reserves, which practically forced our establishments almost to tie themselves up with the State institutions, and left us neither independence in formulating the conditions for degrees nor even the right to confer any degrees. Not only did the law of 1880, which suppressed the mixed juries and robbed us officially of the name of university still further restrict this minimum of liberty, but each alteration of the programs, and Heaven knows how frequent they were, served as a pretext to restrict our field of action. Any method was good enough if it would only draw the young to the State lectures and lead them away from ours. It is true we had no complaints at examination time against the impartiality of the judges—we owe them that much justice—but too often the mere fact that a pupil had studied under us became afterwards a cause of disfavor, a serious matter in a land so devoted to the civil service. The use of a legal right was held up and chastised as though it were a usurpation. Hence arose the fears of many parents who were not keen enough to realize that in our days it was just as dangerous, just as fertile in awkward consequences to be an avowed Catholic as to have been a pupil in a free university.

It must be said, and said loudly, French Catholics have not sufficiently understood their duty in this serious business. They have been wanting in courage and in the spirit of faith. Like the Catholics in the United States,

interested preoccupations have hidden the real dangers to the faith of their children. They dreaded to find themselves isolated, to become pariahs, and the more they dreaded it the more they exposed to that sorry lot those who showed themselves more brave and more logical in the belief, whereas had they also held firm they would be as numerous as they found themselves in secondary schools. "And to say that among those thousands of young men who attend the State lectures," said the Holy Father to me, three months ago, when I was presenting to him the comparative statistics of our faculties and the State faculties, "there are so many Catholics and sons of Catholics! It is a delusion." Ecclesiastics themselves have only too often sought an immediate advantage and greater facilities of success. How many of them have shared in that strange twist of the French mind which *à priori* grants superiority to everything done by the State? What admiration, often naïve, for the most commonplace masters at the University, and what prejudiced bias against the professors of our *Instituts*? We are sadly in need of *esprit de corps*. Even in our Catholic Universities although there is generally good feeling, fusion between the laity and the clergy has not been complete enough to prepare the way as in Belgium or Germany for their common action in the future.

Students' associations and old students' associations have been slow to form, have not been very harmonious, have not done great things. Except in the North our old pupils have lived as units; doing good in their individual way, but wanting in that spirit of initiative and organization which drove the Louvain students to found those societies the strength and usefulness of which we

explained higher up. Finally—and I have already touched on this point—our political divisions have exercised here as everywhere else their dissolving influence by reason of the distrust they have maintained not only among the student body but among our natural protectors.

With all sincerity, without any illusion as to the ill-will of our adversaries, or any pandering to the weaknesses of our friends, such are the causes that have paralyzed the development of our Catholic Universities and hindered their obtaining in our country the full measure of that social influence which seemed reserved to them.

But does this mean that they do not stand well, not only among Catholic Universities, but among the great teaching bodies of the world, or that they do not render important services and justify largely the sacrifices they entail? Far from me such a slanderous thought.

After thirty years of existence each of our five French Universities has taken on its own physiognomy, and can hold its head high. Paris, with its sixty professors, its lecturers, its tutors, its faculties or higher schools of theology, law, letters and science, its many varied public lectures, its young girls' classes, the active and unceasing part it plays in the life of the great city, the relations that the past history of the Carmelite School, and many other circumstances, have led it to maintain with the establishments of the State, the prestige that it owes to men like Mgr. d'Hulst, Abbé de Broglie, Claudio Jannet, Mgr. Duchesne, M. Georges Lemoine, M. de Lapparent, M. Branly, who have simultaneously taught there. Lille, more uniform, more complete, more shut in also, and which through the mouth of Mgr. Baunard compares itself to "an entrenched camp," Lille so well

placed in the heart of the North, and which, as far back as 1885, was able to join, to the five traditional faculties it already enjoyed, a "school of higher industrial study," which has been well called a true normal school of Christian employers; Lille, with its medical faculty frequented from all parts of France, with its hospitals, its clinics, its dispensaries, with its professional staff of over one hundred masters, some of whom have won by their labors a world-wide reputation, with its university extension classes, thanks to which the teaching of the Alma Mater is carried successively into every town in the district, with its students better organized and more united than elsewhere. Angers, as independent as Lille of all State bodies (there is no State University in this town nor in any of the neighboring towns), is exposed to the inconveniences imposed by that situation, such as the necessity of creating at its own cost all the means of work and the lack of intercommunication between professors of State and free schools. On the other hand it avoids many disadvantages resulting from such neighborhood and rivalry whether yielded to or fought against.

The Angers University was founded on unoccupied ground; it has not been choked by a neighbor, and though it is small it claims attention not only because there is no scientific institution like it in the district, but by reason of the intrinsic value of the teaching it gives through its forty professors or lecturers in its four faculties and in its Higher Agricultural School. This latter, the creation of many of the great landed proprietors of the district, is called on to furnish in that agricultural country instruction analogous to that given in the North by the School of Higher Industries at Lille.



Lyons, which has become a sort of normal school for the Departments of the Southeast, has given itself up to the work with the most unwearied devotedness, without forgetting, however, the nature of her surroundings and her own needs. Thus side by side with higher teaching, properly so called, the Science Faculty has arranged for the teaching of applied science along industrial and commercial lines, for which there is an ample field in the Rhône, the Ardèche, and the Loire, and this same Faculty has ably helped in the foundation and development of the De la Salle High School for the teaching of trades to young artisans, which has over 200 pupils; Lyons, with its four faculties and fifty-three professors, its free public evening law schools, its Friday lectures, its young girls' classes, started by Mgr. Dadolle, aided by that generous and intelligent man, the lamented Emmanuel Perrin; Lyons, that fitly boasts of the preponderating part its professors have taken in our Catholic Congresses, and above all the present dean of its Law Faculty, that great lawyer and orator, M. Jacquier.

Lastly, there is Toulouse, which, after teaching like the rest, all the branches befitting a university and counting among its apologists so many distinguished savants and *litterateurs*, saw itself, through Cardinal Mathieu's reform, deprived of its law school and reduced to a dozen or so chairs of literature and science, but which under the active rectorship of Mgr. Battifol has reasserted itself by becoming one of the leading Catholic schools of sacred studies, and this is now its distinctive characteristic.

If each of our universities has thus struck its own note and labored preferably at one or other of the tasks

that confront us, all have collaborated for one common object, and that a useful and most necessary object on which I shall proceed to throw a little light. Catholic Universities may be looked at from many points of view :

(1) They are a means of saving our young laymen when they leave college, because they are a continuation of college work.

(2) They take the part of higher normal schools as far as non-State teaching is concerned.

(3) They help to form an intellectual elite among the clergy.

(4) They are Christian centres of higher learning and encourage the development, and advance of Catholic savants by bringing them into touch with one another.

(5) Lastly, they have a doctrinal mission which enables them to become—not indeed the mouthpieces of religious truth; that belongs to the Pope, the Councils and the Bishops—controllers of the intellectual life of Catholics, and apologists in the cause of truth.

What services, then, from each of these points of view have our French Catholic Universities rendered? The first was the point best understood, indeed, I may say the only one aimed at not only by the mass of Catholics, but by the major part of the hierarchy, namely, to do for higher instruction all that, thanks to the Falloux Law, they had been doing for secondary instruction for twenty years. Hence arose that preoccupation, which showed itself everywhere, to found first of all a Law Faculty, and if it could be done a Medical Faculty also. This latter was the object of their dearest and most earnest wishes; no obstacle save the enormity of the material and financial difficulties could stand in its way. Lille alone, as we

have said, has succeeded in carrying the idea through on a grand scale. She has sent out through the Departments of Nord and Pas de Calais, as well as through many of the provinces, nearly 1,000 physicians and about 160 pharmacists. "From all sides," said Mgr. Baunard as far back even as 1892, "we are receiving requests for Christian physicians, physicians of our own training. Substantial offers are made to them; hands are stretched out to them; it is the cry of the whole country. But we cannot meet all these requests, and our usual answer is: 'Begin by sending us students and we shall make physicians of them for you and send them back full of science and of faith.'" We say this to fathers and mothers, to whom the souls of their children is their dearest possession. We say it to the pastors: a good physician in a parish is as good as a curate. We say it to the great Christian landowners. Why should they not club together to help on even one young man, and give him even one year's medical training free so as to have his services later in the commune in which they dwell or on the governing boards on which they sit?

Besides the scientific side there is also the charitable and social side in the training of the Christian physician. At the Charity Hospital of Lille, more than 500,000 visits have been made to the sick in ten years, and 16,000 mothers have been received at the two Lying-in Hospitals since their foundation. The Home of the Five Wounds has taken in 1,100 crippled or weak persons. St. Camillus' Asylum since 1903 has treated 1,333 cases, and St. Raphael's 5,597 since 1889. The number of free consultations in the dispensaries exceeds 700,000. The gross expenses of the Catholic Medical Faculty at Lille for technical instruction alone since it started until 1908

amount to \$1,240,000. And Heaven only knows how much of this has been met by M. C. Féron-Vrau. No other of our Universities can compare with the Medical Faculty of Lille. Angers has had to be satisfied with a preparatory year known as P. C. N. Lyons has nothing but St. Joseph's Hospital, which has a first-class medical staff. Even Paris can offer only its St. Joseph's Hospital and such preparatory institutions as the Conférence Laënnec and the Conférence Fonssagrives, and the supplementary school of medicine recently opened through the combined efforts of the Catholic Institute and the Cercle du Luxembourg.

I do not wish to reopen here the controversy concerning the utility of Catholic Law Schools. Over and over advocates in their favor have written forcibly and conclusively from Paris, Lyons, Lille and Angers, and it would be a tedious task to sum up their arguments which doubtless Catholics have not quite forgotten. But facts show that nearly everywhere business men, notaries, lawyers who have taken part in defending the Church during the legal persecution she is undergoing, have all been trained in such schools, and that these same men are leaders in every Catholic movement. This becomes more patent in such compact and uniform districts as those in which the Universities of Lille and Angers stand, and where we find a relatively large number of mayors, general councillors and deputies, men like Bougère, Adigard, Le Louëdec, Dansette, des Rotours, and Groussau—I select these names at haphazard—all chosen from among former pupils of the Catholic Law Schools. In any case the facts, as I say, are self-evident everywhere. It would not be an easy matter to say how many law students have been through our Law Schools. That of Lille in

1890-1891 had 123, 139 in 1891-1892, 157 in 1900, 149 in 1901. That of Paris has seen its numbers vary according to times and governments. This current year it has only 363. From 1876 to 1908 Angers has turned out 540 Licenciés in Law and 95 Doctors in Law; Paris, 1268 Licenciés, 211 Doctors and 1 Fellow.

If people could only realize the importance of services rendered by us to even these few, and through them to all Catholics, they might realize the necessity of seeing the number increase.

Is it solely through their principles and teaching that the Catholic Universities continue their mission of safeguarding and watching over the faith of the country? By no means. In various ways and through various clubs they try to shelter the student from the contagion of evil and to inspire him with a lively affection for what is good.

Louvain has its "pedagogies," less numerous and popular nowadays than formerly, but still prosperous enough, and acting as a sort of stepping-stone between college life and complete freedom. Our French Universities have their seminaries for Church students and a few hostels for the lay students.

But to be quite frank it is only at Lille and Angers that these latter really serve their purpose; at Angers there are the splendid hostels of St. Clair, St. Maurice, St. Martin; at Lille, Albertus Magnus' House, St. Louis' House, St. Michael's House.

One of the men who have done most to keep up a Christian spirit among the Lille students, Pere Dargent, wrote a letter in 1902 to the *Bulletin de l'Association des Anciens élèves de Saint-Sulpice*, in which he laid stress on the truly unique family feeling that existed between

the students and the professors. Some professors invite the students of their class to dinner in their homes in groups or batches now and again; others on New Year's eve get up family parties for those who have been unable to return to their homes at that festive period and are obliged to remain on at the hostels. "And it is easy to understand," wrote Pere Dargent, "how these intimate relations help to rub off the corners of rough natures and to give courage to timid ones, as well as put them in the way of useful openings, while this easy and comprehensive intellectual culture of which I spoke just now completes the formation of their characters as men and Christians and broadens their minds."

The same letter shows us how the Christian side of student life at Lille is arranged for: annual retreats, confraternities of Our Lady, clubs for religious studies, societies for Adoration throughout the night, Communions of reparation, conferences of St. Vincent of Paul, conferences of Bl. Jeanne d'Arc, whose members prepare for public speaking and on Sundays go out to organize useful meetings in the Industrial Schools, in the workshops and even in the public halls. "It is, thanks to this organized Christian life, and thanks to the retreats of their own free choosing which show them how to lead real missionary lives, that our young men remain what they were when they left their homes or their colleges," and that many among them become irreproachable in conduct and prepare themselves to lead lives of pure, self-respecting and useful citizens.

At Paris we have somewhat similar organizations. And if some of the more important among them, such as the Conférence Olivaint and the Luxembourg Club, are not quite in touch with the Catholic Institute, that

is because they already existed before it was started, but our students benefit by them as they also do by the Reunion conducted by Abbé Plazenet at 104 Rue de Vaugirard.

At Angers all the University students may join the Conference St. Louis, founded by the lamented Hervé-Bazin. Affiliated to the "Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Française," the Conference, say its statutes, "was founded on the threefold basis of piety, study and action, and it aims at increasing in its members love for the Church, virtuous living, learning, and Christian devotion to country." A large number of those belonging to it are also members of the Conference of Our Lady.

These examples—and I could quote others from Lyons and Toulouse—suffice to establish the fact that our Catholic Universities have not been wanting in the first portion of their task, and that if their influence has not been more widespread it is once again simply because of the fewness of their students.

After the faculties of Medicine and Law, the chief thought of the Bishop who founded them was for faculties of Literature and Science. Either, as was the case at Paris and at Lille, they created them from the start with the Law Faculty, or, as was the case at Lyons, Angers and Toulouse, they waited no longer than one year or two or three. Evidently they held that these faculties would assist young men of the world who were anxious to complete or crown their college course by higher studies and degrees. But as a matter of fact that we can easily understand, they aimed especially—if we put aside for the moment the public lectures, and the display which at that time was the usual accompaniment of the Faculties of Literature—at securing a supply

of good professors with teaching diplomas for the Catholic Colleges. Long before this time the Carmelite school at Paris, the Carthusian school at Lyons, and since 1871 the St. Aubin School at Mongazon, later at Angers, had been working towards this end. But either, as at the Carmelite school, the University lectures played a large part, or else these schools had to be content with few classes and few professors. The old stagers at St. Aubin's love to recall the heroic age of that school when one professor made up the whole staff and taught French, Latin and Greek, and is now Rector Magnificus of the Catholic University of Angers, Mgr. Pasquier. Nevertheless, higher state education was on the eve of a transformation.

ALFRED BAUDRILLART,

Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

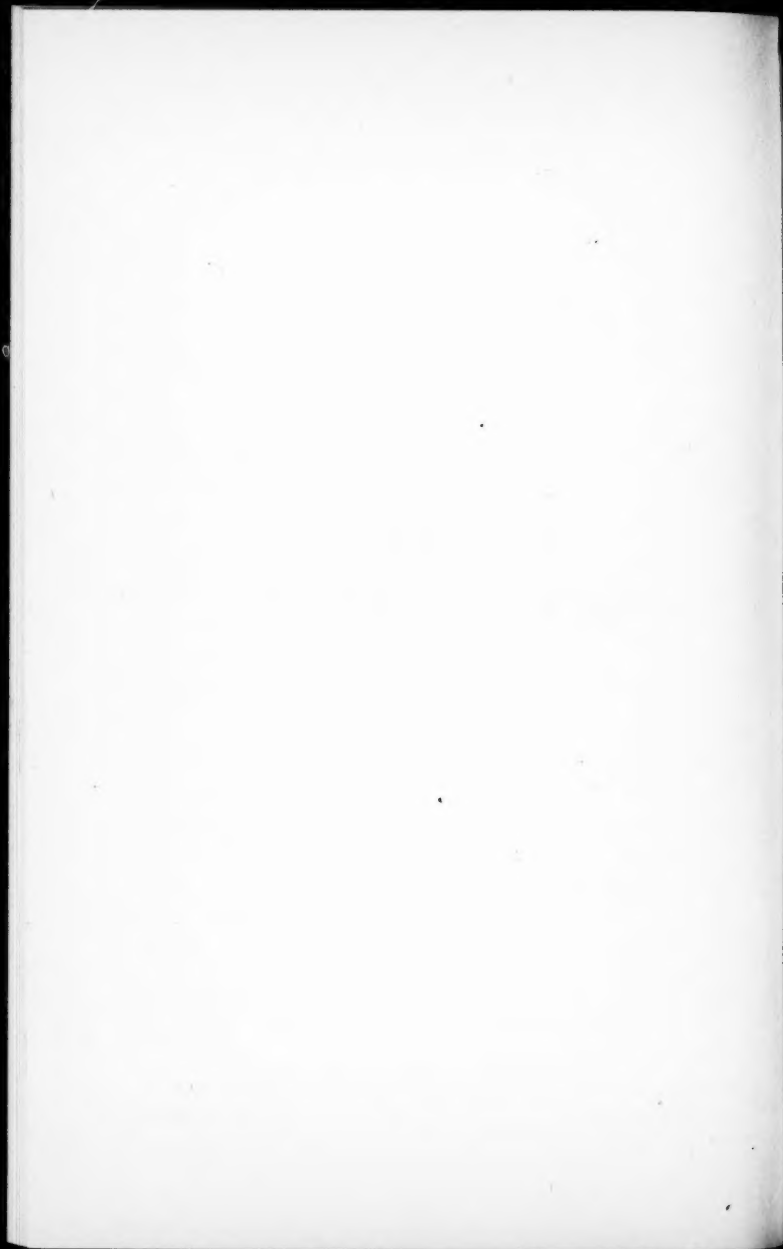
In *Le Correspondant*, June 25 and July 10.

(*To be continued.*)



**CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITIES**

**v.**



## Catholic Universities

### V

Through the introduction of private lectures and conferences by experts, as well as by the more scientific and technical character of the public lectures the State faculties were gradually becoming real preparatory schools. Thanks to the advantages held out to them, and thanks to the foundation of scholarships, candidates for university degrees and positions began to increase. We were soon to see even the smallest municipal college fully staffed with diplomaed professors, and it became a matter of urgency to provide the future professors in Catholic high schools with a similar training and equal credentials. This has been the work of our Catholic Institutes. I have not all the statistics at hand but what follows will give an idea of the work accomplished. From its inception to November, 1908, the Catholic Institute of Paris has turned out 1,060 Licenciés ès lettres, 35 doctors, and 36 fellows: that of Toulon 211 licenciés, 10 doctors and 2 fellows. In science I find that Paris issued 177 licences, and since the reform of 1897, 424 certificates, of which three were equal to a licence, 10 doctorates, and 1 fellowship. At Angers there have been 86 licences, 169 certificates, 10 doctorates, etc.

Since through an iniquitous law clerics have been denied aggregation, many of them have, at least, obtained

diplomas in one or other of the higher branches of study, a sort of connecting link between a license and a fellowship. What has been said is quite enough to prove that during the past thirty-four years the Catholic universities by putting in circulation between 3,000 and 4,000 licenciés ès lettres or ès sciences have put fresh blood into our colleges. Let us add also that they have erected within their province an examining board for the inspection and giving of prizes in all Catholic Colleges or schools which accept their conditions, and which has proved a potent factor in raising the standard of study in general. Finally some far-sighted men at the last congress of the "Alliance des maisons d'éducation chrétienne" spoke warmly in favor of the creation of an affiliation of secondary school teachers which would still further extend the field of action and importance of the work done by our Universities.

It is no small thing to have done all this for the clergy teaching in our colleges. Catholic opinion, however, awaited something more from us. It is as well to be frank and say it hoped for a clergy which collectively and above all in its chosen leaders would be more learned, more enlightened, more in touch with the problems of the day and the solutions they demand. Our fathers of 1830 may have believed that they were quarreling over a misunderstanding arising out of the Revolution, and that a touch of Liberalism would bring about a reconciliation: and hence arose a certain liberalistic movement in the midst even of Catholics. But as a matter of fact two teachings were face to face, and were soon to develop into two different civilizations, two ways of looking on intellectual and social growth. Ideals, that we nowadays style lay ideals, and Catholic tradition and the Christian

spirit differ widely as the poles. If the Catholic tradition and the Christian spirit are to go on then those who are their champions must know the methods of, and have the skill of their opponents. By isolating itself from the mass of contemporary culture, ecclesiastical learning would run the greatest of dangers; by becoming the possession of a few men it would remain for the rest of mankind a dead language, without any influence on their minds, and consequently without any on their daily lives. Hence it is necessary that all those among the clergy who have aptitudes for this higher study should have an opportunity for genuinely pursuing it. They should have a chance of specializing, of going to the root of things, of taking up fundamental questions, and of working along critical and scientific lines. But on the other hand it is urgent that these studies be carried on in such a way, that this initiation to critical and scientific methods be so conducted as not to compromise their faith: else we should see them, as unfortunately has been sometimes the case, carried headlong with the flood. And that is why this higher instruction ought to be given in Catholic Universities by professors filled with the Christian spirit, whose faith is untarnished, and who have at the same time experience in all useful methods. Nor have our universities been wanting in this respect: hundreds and hundreds of ecclesiastics have followed each other in their benches for the last thirty-four years. I shall only mention one sign of the transformation they have wrought, namely, the recognized worth of the works the clergy has produced. As Mgr. Battifol very properly remarks in his suggestive book: "*Questions d'enseignement supérieur ecclésiastique*" they have almost captured the department of studies in Church History. When twenty

or thirty years ago a courageous editor at Toulouse undertook to reprint the "History of Languedoc," edited by the Benedictines of former days, not one single member of the secular clergy figured among the list of collaborators, whereas at the present day we are able of our own accord to set about re-editing the "Gallia Christiana" of the Benedictines. In exegesis, philosophy, social sciences, and the history of religious it is the same story. Three years ago one of our opponents, M. Ferdinand Lot, wrote these words in the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*: "Religious phenomena have such a vital importance in the past and present life of society that it is hard to understand why, in the provinces at all events, the study of these things is left as a monopoly to the clergy. It is not with jokes and newspaper articles that the intellect of the young can be won over from them. We need men of learning, specialists able to fight against the new clerical generation which possesses a few men of most superior education. . . . The government and even Parliament do not seem to be aware of the necessity of marshalling a set of men capable of disputing this ground with the modern clergy."

The intellect of man, nay, the intellect of the Christian man in our days is passing through a most dangerous crisis. On the one hand a large number of learned men and thinkers have so far cut loose from Christian teaching that they have succeeded in persuading the mob very strongly that faith and science are incompatible. On the other hand the study of modern systems of philosophy and the introduction into religious science of the critical and scientific methods applied to all other branches of knowledge as well as the use, sometimes hasty and sometimes reckless, of these methods by imprudent Catholics,

have provoked among a certain number of our friends, clergy as well as laity, a certain amount of suspicion, if not distress. Many have gone over to the enemy's camp, and more or less willingly have travestied the traditional teaching of the Church. This has produced in our ranks the error of modernism which has grown side by side with the rationalism of our radical opponents in opposition to the Christian revelation.

Hence arises the highest mission of our Catholic Universities. They stand for and support Christian teaching in its entirety face to face with its declared enemies and false defenders.

But by some strange hazard this teaching rôle of our Catholic Universities was only imperfectly recognized by the majority even of those who founded them. At the very time when the opening lectures were beginning, December 10, 1875, Père Didon in an article in the *Correspondant*—not signed but bearing his mark—spoke a word of warning and alarm.

"When one has read with the attention they deserve, the debates in Parliament on the subject of higher instruction," he wrote, "one is driven to conclude that the thought of safeguarding our youth is the one at the bottom of the Catholics' demand for liberty. . . . The catechetical work awaiting our universities is vast. Is it even understood by those very ones who are interested in it? . . . Everything is now on a large scale: authority, sentiment, zeal, everything except what is most expansive and most active, namely, light, truth, and above all religious truth. . . . It is by their intellectual superiority that races win preeminence. . . . When, therefore, looking out on the vicissitudes of human and divine events you note the intellectual level of a people

on a down grade, and religious knowledge falling away from its place of honor in the intellect of the faithful, when, to use a scriptural expression, 'the suns becomes dark as a sackcloth of hair,' then tremble for that people, and fear for its belief. Both are on the wane, and they will soon disappear."

What Père Didon feared was lest our Universities would model themselves on those of the State, and be without a distinctive program and without any religious spirit. "What we need," he wrote, "is professors from our own body, universities after our own hearts. . . . Now in the Universities I have in mind nothing is changed but the professors; and in my opinion they are rather universities founded and governed by Catholics than genuine Catholic Universities. . . . No doubt they will be of some assistance to us; but they will never furnish us with that intrepid army which we need if we are to win back control over the intellectual and religious life of the world. . . . What we must build up are not State University feeders or annexes controlled by Catholics, but real Universities worthy of the name Catholic. . . . Catholic Universities modelled on those of former days would fail in the mission they have to accomplish. Out of date at their very birth they could never win nor hold the rising generation; and the very hour of their inauguration would mark the hour of their fall."

Granted. What then was his aim? He wanted a University "eminently theological," *i. e.*, theological first of all, a University, namely, of which the corner stone would be the theological faculty devoting ample time to all sacred sciences, while its whole curriculum should be controlled by Christian dogma; a University that would



"pour fresh blood into the old educational synthesis of the thirteenth century" and set it forth as a "modern synthesis of human learning." "Catholic Universities," he adds in conclusion, "are the most convincing proof Catholicism can give of its vitality. It is from these centres of light that will radiate sound Catholic teaching only too often but imperfectly known by those who profess it and even champion its cause. It is from these centres that it will be able in the name of intelligence to assert its sway over men's minds. . . . The struggle has begun: the field of arms is our common country, our weapons are the Universities. Catholicism and positions therein are about to do battle for the soul of France."

In language less eloquent indeed, but full of common-sense in its very simplicity, the Dean of the Faculty of Law, at Lille, has said the very same thing, and supplies an answer to those who would restrict us to the teaching of sacred sciences, by pointing out the current of uniform teaching which ought to flow through every department of University life. "The intercourse of daily life and teaching between one faculty and another," said the Marquis of Vareilles-Sommières to the 1877 Catholic Congress, "the exchange of views and mutual courtesies postulate, while they strengthen, the moral unity of the whole. And this is hardly realizable by some amongst us whose hearts are knit by a common religious belief, and whose minds are in harmony over one supreme truth. *The organization of the body is perfect when its soul is uniform.* Crowning this living temple, Catholic teaching is officially represented by the theologian and the moralist who are appealed to by all the rest and who in turn seek knowledge through all the rest. Wondrous intercourse

in which each one profits by the common toil and in which all the sciences are woven into one science."

Have the Catholic Universities realized this ideal? No; and to be quite candid, I do not think they are likely to realize it just yet. It is too soon to dream of such a synthesis of the sciences as Père Didon, like Père Gratry and others before him, had dreamed of. But at least we can work towards it slowly and consistently. And it is in this sense that our Catholic Institutes, have been, as Mgr. d'Hulst hoped and planned they should be, centres of Christian learning.

To begin with they have got together bands of learned Christian men; they have given them an opportunity of consulting together; and they have supplied them with the tools necessary for their work. We are far from claiming that all our professors are front-rank men. For the matter of that, no institution, State or otherwise, could put forward such a claim. But every one of our faculties has had or has many distinguished names, and not a few eminent for their learning. I must not be expected to mention names. My choice would be arbitrary, and might be unfair. But each of our Universities publishes its Annual, and its list may be consulted. In his *Histoire de l'Institut Catholique de Paris de 1875 à 1907* Mgr. Péchenard gives a list of all the professors, past and present, at that great Institute, and the names to be found there—the same may be said of our other Universities—would not disgrace the honor rolls of any State scientific department. Here again the enumeration of our published works will supply the most accurate criterion. And first of all our collective works: Paris leads with the *Revue de l'Institut Catholique*, and above all with the works and collections going on under its pat-

ronage, or under the guidance of one or other of its professors, for instance, "La Sainte Bible Polyglotte," by Abbé Vigouroux, assisted by Abbé Nau; the "Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique," begun under the editorship of Abbé Vacant and carried on under Abbé Mangenot; the "Dictionnaire d'histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques," by Mgr. Baudrillart; the "Dictionnaire apologetique de la foi Catholique," by Abbé d'Alès; the "Bibliothèque de théologiae positive," by the Theological Faculty; the "Patrologia orientalis," by Mgr. Graffin and Abbé Nau; the "Canoniste contemporain," by Abbé Boudinhon; the *Revue de philosophie*, and the *Index philosophique*, by Abbé Peillaube; the *Revue pratique d'apologétique*, by MM. Baudrillart, Guibert and Lèsêtre; the "Grands Philosophes," by M. Piat; the "Bibliothèque de Philosophie expérimentale," by Abbé Peillaube; the "Collection des textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme," by MM. Lejay and Hemmer.

Lille has its *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, its *Revue des sciences médicales*, its *Revue de Lille*, its *Revue des Facultés Catholiques*, its *Memoires et Travaux*. Lyons publishes the *Université Catholique*, and the *Bulletin d'histoire ecclésiastique de Lyon*. Angers the *Revue des Facultés Catholiques de l'Ouest*. Toulouse the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, a model of what a critical review ought to be, wherein all the problems of the day are discussed with ability and power.

Every year, in solemn session, a list of the works written by our professors is read out, and the number nowadays runs into the hundreds. At the exposition of 1900, Paris alone supplied a whole library. At that of Angers in 1895 the Catholic University of the West had a list

of 200 works written either by the professors or students. And the name of M. René Bazin, the charm and glory of that University is one not to be forgotten.

Lille is justly proud of the historical works of Mgr. Hautcœur and M. Salembièr, "*Cartulaire de la collégiale de Saint-Pierre*," and "*Grand schisme d'occident*"; M. Jules Didot's "*Théologie Catholique*"; works of literary importance such as M. de Margerie's "*Taine*"; "*Joseph de Maistre*" and "*Saint François de Sales*"; M. Lecigne's "*Brizeux*"; Père Grisé's "*Bourdaloue*"; and the law treatises of M. de Verilles-Sommières, "*Droit international privé*" and "*Personnalité civile*." Then again it points to the works of M. Béchaux on social and economic subjects, to mathematical dissertations by M. d'Adhémar and M. Montessus de Ballore, to M. Witz's "*Traité des moteurs à gaz et à pétrole*," and in a different plain of thought to such works as those of M. Boulay, "*Idéalisme et matérialisme*" and "*Principes d'anthropologie générale*," which are of great use in building up a Christian philosophy of the sciences. The medical faculty has also produced many works, and it must hold me excused if I refer merely to the work of their dean, M. Duret on "*Les Tumeurs de l'encéphale*."

Lyons points with pride to the extensive and important historical works of Canon Ulysse Chevalier, as does Paris to those of Mgr. Duchesne. Moreover there are the works on philosophy by Mgr. Elie Blanc; M. Tixeront's "*Histoire des Dogmes*"; M. Jacquier's "*Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament*"; M. Martin's "*Bullaire de l'Eglise de Lyon*," and "*Continuation de la Collection des Conciles de Mansi*"; M. Beaune's "*Traité du droit coutumier*"; M. Lucien Brun's "*Introduction à l'Etude du droit*"; M. Rombaud's "*Histoire des doc-*"

trines économiques"; studies on moral and literary subjects by MM. Delmont and Delfour; on languages by Mgr. Devaux; on scientific matters by MM. Amagat, Valson, de Sparre (he has just gained the Poncelet prize from the Academy of Science for the excellence of his published works); Donnadieu, Lepercq, and Roux, to which we may add the works in local historical research by Poidebard, Condamin, and Reure, all of which bear witness to the intellectual activity of the Catholic University of Lyons.

The University of Toulouse, as I have already said, has been given over mainly to sacred studies; there will be occasion to refer to this later. But we must call attention to the attractively intimate literary studies of M. Couture; and the mass of work in mineral, agricultural and organic chemistry produced by Abbé Senderens.

In the case of Paris I must limit myself for reasons of discretion no less than of space to a mere list of names. Among our professors of theology, canon law and philosophy who have published important works I note the names of Mgr. Duchesne, Abbé Paulin Martin, Abbé de Broglie, Père Largent, Père Auriault, M. Vigouroux, Père Terrien, Abbé Fillion, Père de la Barre, M. Cerval, M. Bainvel, M. Mangenot, M. Touzard, M. d'Alès, M. Lebreton, Cardinal Gasparri, M. Boudinhon, M. Many, Mgr. d'Hulst, M. Peillaube, Père Sertillanges, Abbé Baudin. Among our professors of Oriental languages I find the names of M. Révillout, Mgr. Graffin, M. François Martin, M. J.-B. Périer, M. Carra de Vaux. In Law, we have M. Claudio Jannet, M. Delamarre, M. Lacoïnta, M. Cauvière, M. Clotet, M. Taudière, M. Lescœur, M. Bureau, M. Larcher, M. de Lamarzelle, M. Lepelletier, etc. . . . In Literature—without laying undue claim

to those who, like David-Sauvageot and Doumic, were only partly ours, the former for six years, the latter for three—we have had such men as Mgr. Demimuid, Père Lallemand, Abbé Lechatellier, Abbé Misset, Abbé Ragon, Abbé Rousselot, Abbé Lejay, Abbé Margival, Abbé Bertrin, Abbé Klein, M. Le Bidois. In Philosophy I find M. Huit, and M. Piat; in History M. Lecoy de la Marche, Abbé Beurlier, Mgr. Baudrillart, Abbé Pisani, M. Digard, Abbé Boxler, M. Froidevaux, M. Gautherot; and in Science, Père Joubert, M. Georges Lemoine, M. de Lapparent, M. Branly, M. Eugène Vicaire, M. André, M. Fouet, M. Nau, M. Hamonet, M. Briot, etc.

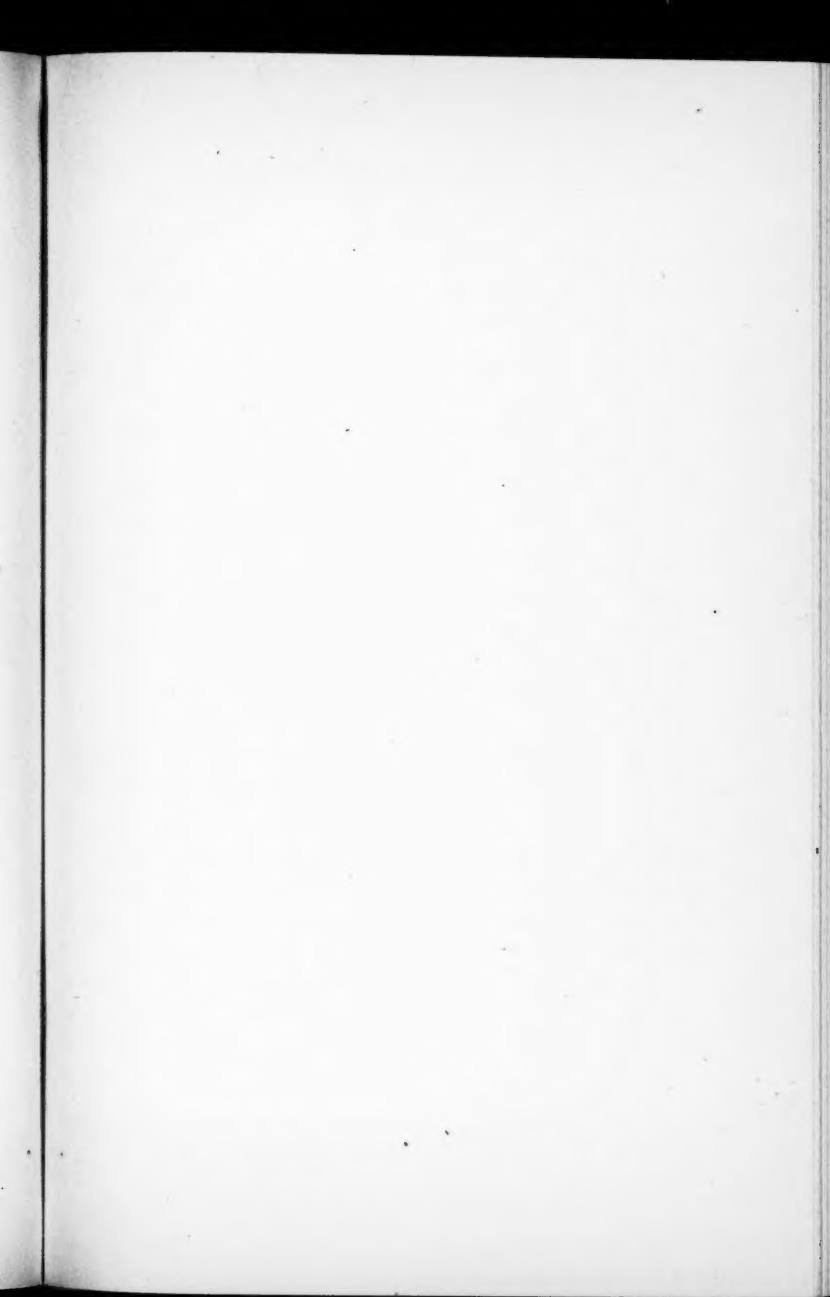
Forgive this long and uninteresting summary. It was a necessity in order to bring home to possible doubters that our professors were something more than young boys' tutors. Five of those who belonged to us or at one time belonged to us, are at present teaching at the Institut; M. Bazin and M. Doumic have been elected to the Academy; Mgr. Duchesne is a member of the Academy of Inscriptions; MM. Amagat, and Lemoine are members of the Academy of Science, of which but a little while ago Albert de Lapparent was perpetual secretary; MM. Witz, Béchaux and Ulysses Chevalier are among the academy *correspondants*. Truly then the Catholic Universities of France have been and are to-day centres of Christian learning.

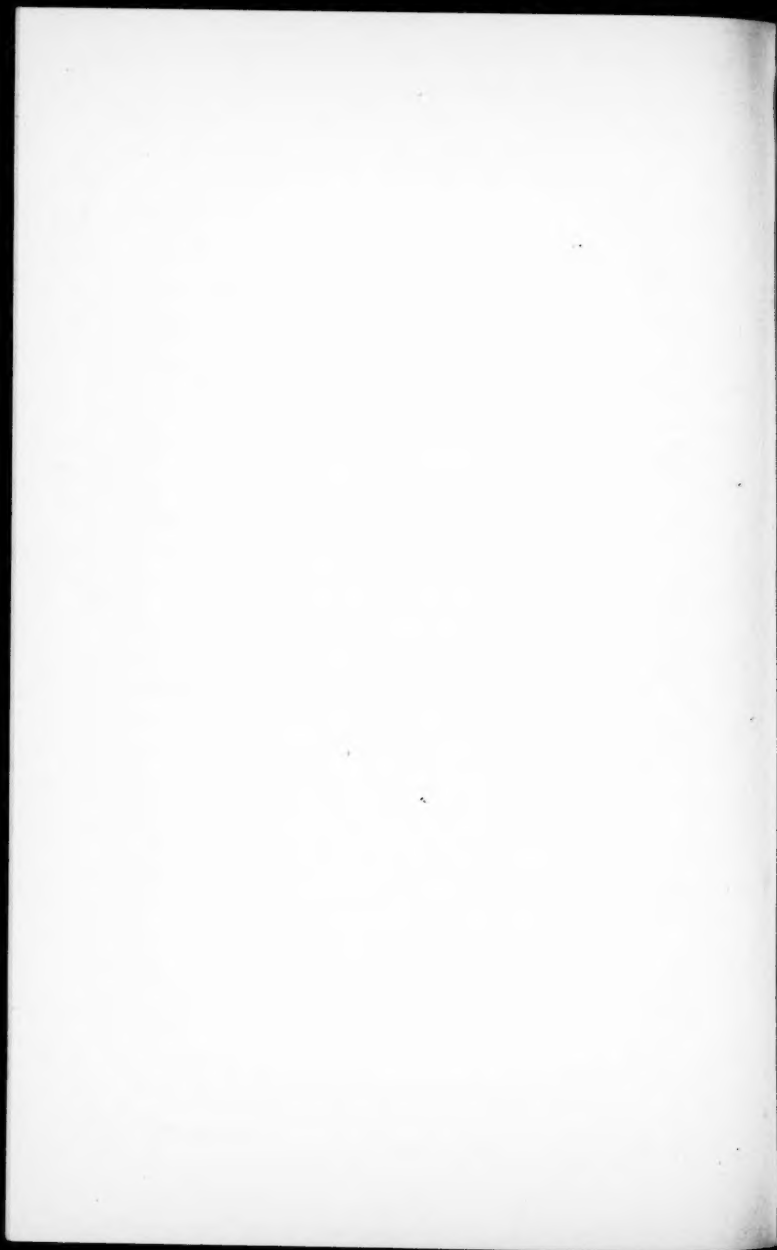
ALFRED BAUDRILLART,

Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

In *Le Correspondant*, August 10.

(*To be continued.*)

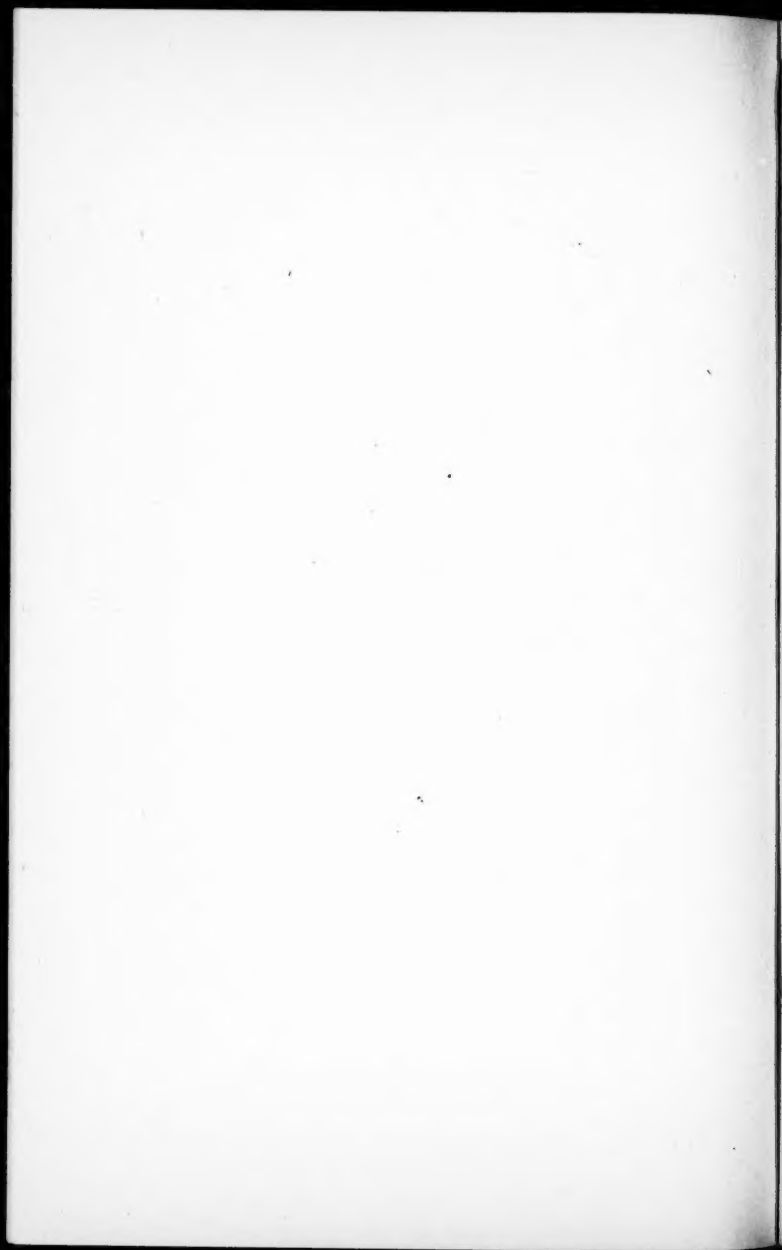






**CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITIES**

**VI.**



# Catholic Universities

*(Concluded.)*

## VI

To uphold true teaching and supply Catholics with that intellectual guidance they stand in need of amid the dangers of the hour, our Instituts employ two arms: the theological faculties, and public lectures on controverted questions.

The theological faculties were the latest to be founded. Paris and Lyons waited three years; Angers and Toulouse four years. I have already explained why this was so, but I must here add that the Bishops were of opinion that the State theological courses, which still existed at the time, were ample for all the needs of apologetics, and they feared above all, lest anything should interfere with the traditional organization of the Higher Seminaries. . . . Our Catholic theological faculties were founded at Rome's desire and because Rome had categorically stated that without them canonical institution would not be granted to our other faculties. Rome held—and as we have seen the opinion was shared by such eminent men as Père Didon and Père d'Alzon in 1872, by Mgr. Pie, and by Mgr. Turinaz in the splendid letter he wrote in 1874—Rome held that the theological faculty is the soul of all the rest, and that a University without it is but a headless body. Moreover Rome did

all it could to guarantee a sufficient and regular ecclesiastical audience at the lectures given by these faculties; and in doing so it had to do violence to certain deep-rooted customs and well-founded fears; but even so we have had to be content—save at Lille—with a *modus vivendi* which left us but very few students. However our work has been to turn these few into an elite who would leaven each diocese, and the degrees they take are a sure guarantee of their ability.”(1)

The control we exercise over the Higher Seminaries affiliated to us is another guarantee. Our dearest wish is to assist in the training of the professors of those seminaries, and for this purpose two years ago there was founded at Paris a Normal Seminary, the students of which attend classes at the Institut, while receiving appropriate spiritual and intellectual assistance from their own directors. In this way our limited influence will attain a wider scope. We aim at two things above all else: viz., to strengthen in the minds of our students, who for the most part have completed their Higher Seminary course, a thorough knowledge of dogma and philosophy on which all else depends; and to teach them how to study in a scientific and critical way whereby alone they can hope to do any useful work in the struggle we must face against the errors of the day.

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(1) Our canonical faculties at Paris in thirty years have turned out 1,319 bachelors, 205 licenciés, and 34 doctors of theology; 584 bachelors, 154 licenciés, and 14 doctors in canon law; 868 bachelors, 41 licenciés, and 9 doctors in philosophy. Besides, they have granted 9 diplomas for semitic languages. A grand total of 3,238 degrees. At Angers they have had in all 611 bachelors, 113 licenciés, and 27 doctors. Statistics for the other universities are not at hand.

In this work Toulouse led the van. Mgr. Douais organized a course of lectures on medieval history along the lines followed by the Universities of Germany and of Louvain; Mgr. Battifol introduced conferences on Ancient Christian literature, and on Inquiries concerning original documents of Ancient Church history, of which he so clearly explains the workings in the two chapters entitled "*Vie journalière d'un Institut Catholique*" and "*Séminaire d'histoire*" of his book referred to above.

Above all we have aimed at a revival of Biblical and historical study from a dogmatic and scientific standpoint: "Textual criticism, literary criticism, historical criticism, these things we must have," said Mgr. Battifol.

Thanks to this work, the sciences which almost brought about a crisis in theology, are becoming so many helps to theology itself.

At Paris we have worked along these lines to encourage Scripture studies, we have strengthened our Oriental language staff in Hebrew and Arabic, and opened chairs of Egyptology, Coptic, New Testament and Patristic Greek over and above the already existing chairs of Syriac, Assyrian and Ethiopian. Moreover, we have opened a special chair of Early Church History. Besides their lectures nearly every professor gives practical assistance by lessons on textual criticism, by dissertations, by brief pamphlets and by discussions of debated points.

But, lest erudition and the critical spirit should lead to the neglect of principles in favor of a purely historical view-point, we found it necessary, in conformity with the Holy Father's wishes, to strengthen our philosophical faculty, and to put as many as possible of our students

through its courses. A new arrangement of these courses, which in the Catholic University of Paris are divided among six professors, allows a revision of all the great problems of philosophy in the space of two years. A new chair, one of those longed for by Père Didon in the program he mapped out in his brilliant article in the *Correspondant*, that of the History of Medieval Philosophy, gives opportunity for a deeper acquaintance with the great systems of the medieval thinkers, and makes everyone realize the splendors and riches of the traditional philosophy of the Church. Many of the lectures are published in book form and in this way our Faculties extend their influence to the clergy and laity, and contribute to the spread of ideas essential for the defense of religion assaulted from all sides. To give but one example the Faculty of Toulouse has done endless good. The rectors led the way; the first two, Père Caussette and Mgr. de Lamothe-Tenet published works of great distinction, and of service in the training of the clergy; the third Mgr. Duilhé de Saint-Projet published an "Apologie scientifique du Christianisme," which has been translated into every language; the fourth, Mgr. Battifol has written a "Histoire du bréviaire romain": "l'Enseignement de Jésus" and "Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive," most instructive and thoughtful, as well as a recent work of much value on "L'Eglise naissante et le Catholicisme"; the fifth, Mgr. Breton has given us a profoundly suggestive theological work on the Sacrifice of the Mass, "Le Drame Eternel," and has evoked the memory of the first two rectors in his "Vie de Mgr. Bertauld."

Almost all the professors of theology at Toulouse have at one time or another contributed their quota to

the discussion of weighty religious problems: Père Ramière has written brilliantly on the ontological question; Père Desjardins has published able dissertations on "La Providence dans la distribution des grâces," "L'équiprobabilisme," "Les droits de l'Eglise dans ses rapports avec les sociétés," etc.; among the Professors of Scripture, Abbé Thomas, dead at the age of thirty-nine, has left many essays collected under the title "Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature religieuses" as a pledge of his learning and his genius; Père Condamin has written a "Commentaire d'Isaïe," a work thoroughly up to date; Père Prat has given us such important works as "Le Code du Sinaï," "La Bible et l'histoire" and a volume on "St. Paul."

Père Portalié, whose recent death was hastened by overwork, has shown himself in his writings and especially in his clever article on "St. Augustine," in the "Dictionnaire de Théologie," a masterhand in patrology, philosophy and theology. His successor, M. Cavallera, has given proof of his merit by his work "Le Schisme d'Antioche." In the Chair of Scholastic Theology, Père Guillermin and Père Pègues have shown remarkable insight into the writings of St. Thomas. Abbé Gayraud, before he succeeded Mgr. d'Hulst in the Chamber, had also championed Thomism at Toulouse. Père Coconnier and Père Montagne have devoted themselves to a study of the psychology of the nervous system, and to questions affecting the freedom of the will. M. Michelet has written ably on "Dieu et l'agnosticisme," on "Maine de Biran," etc. The Chair of Church History held at the present time by Abbé Saltet, the author of an important work on "Les Réordinations," has also been held by the present Bishop of Beauvais, Mgr. Douais, an unwearying

student, and a paleographer of note whose work on the "Histoire de l'Inquisition" is classical. Abbé Crouzil, Doctor of Laws, has written ably and skilfully on all points that have cropped up of recent years affecting civil law touching the Church: "Les Associations"; "La Separation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat," "La Police du culte," as well as on legislation in foreign countries, etc.

In the private classes held in our Universities the professors go deeply into their subject, and treat it from all points for the benefit of their auditors who are specializing it; the public lectures on the other hand are of a more popular character and give results rather than the steps by which the results have been reached. Our ambition—and we have already realized it in many chairs—is to be able to have private as well as public lectures in the same branches. For example, we have done this at Paris in the case of Abbé Lebreton's lectures on "Origines Chrétiennes." Thus it has come about that owing to the importance of the questions treated as well as to the broad point of view from which they were treated, the faculties of theology, or rather of the Sacred Sciences, so half-heartedly and doubtfully instituted in the beginning, have become the backbone of our Universities, and a few years before his death Cardinal Guibert admitted as much to Mgr. D'Hulst.

As was fitting, the Catholic University of Paris is the one with most public lectures. From one end of the year to the other they take place every day at 5.15 P. M. Monday's lecture treats of some apologetic question; three lecturers chosen from among the ablest professors within or even without the University, relieving each other every three months, lecture on their special subject dealing with one or other point of Christian doctrine.



theology, Scripture, philosophy, science, history, sociology or art. During the past three years, these lecturers have been M. Gaudeau on the "Scientific Theory of the Catholic Faith Face to Face with the Present Maladies of Faith and Reason," and on "The Errors Known as Modernism"; M. Delarue on the "Roman Catacombs and Apologetics"; M. Guibert on "Religious Beliefs and the Nature Sciences"; M. Touzard on "The Apologetic Value of the Argument Drawn from the Prophecies"; M. Thureau-Dangin on the "Catholic Movement in England during the Nineteenth Century"; Père Gardeil on "Dogma and Theology"; M. Broussolle on "Dogma and Piety in the Italian Art of the Renaissance"; M. Dunand on "Jeanne d'Arc and Her Mission, According to Original Documents." It was also during this Monday course that M. de Lapparent and Père Sertillanges delivered their lectures on "Science and Apologetics," and "Art and Apologetics."

Tuesday is given over to modern Church History. The lectures include Abbé Paquier on "The Great Religious Controversies of the Seventeenth Century: Jansenism and Quietism"; Abbé Constant on the "Protestant Reformation in England"; Mgr. Baudrillart on "The State of the Church of France During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century"; and M. Pisani on the "Church of Paris During the Revolution."

Wednesday brings conferences on various subjects of current interest, and nearly every Catholic of note in Paris as well as outside it places his services at our disposal. Thursday belongs to the lectures on "Origines Chrétiennes," a new chair, which Abbé Lebreton has filled for the past two years, while treating such basic questions as "Origines de la Trinité"; "Origines de

l'Episcopat"; "Origines de l'Apologetique Chrétienne"; "Origines de l'Eglise Romaine."

Friday is the day for the History of Religions, each religion being treated of by the Catholic who has made the most profound study of it. Thus Mgr. Le Roy lectured on the "Religion des Primitifs"; M. Carra de Vaux on the "Doctrine de l'Islam"; M. de Vallée-Pousin and Père Boyer on the "Bouddhisme de l'Inde"; Père Roussel on "Védisme et Brahmanisme"; M. Philippe Virey on the "Religion de l'Ancienne Egypte"; Père Dhorme on the "Religion Assyro-Babylonienne."

All these lectures, with the exception of those given by Père Boyer, have been grouped into volumes to form the nucleus of a Christian library of the History of religions.

Saturday is divided between social conferences by M. de Lamarzelle, and lectures on the history of the Revolution by M. Gautherot. Moreover special conferences are given where the need arises of enlightening Catholic opinion: in this way, for instance, we had in 1907-1908 the lectures of M. Gardair on Modernism and the Philosophy of St. Thomas.

At Toulouse, Abbé Maisonneuve, Dean of the Theological Faculty, conducted public discussions concerning the various modern systems of philosophy since Kant; Abbé Franon, discussions concerning the various moral theories: Père Lagrange has dealt with the history of the Old Testament: Mgr. Battifol and Père Portalié have demolished one or other modernist thesis.

At Lyons, Friday every week is public day; and during the current year lectures on Apologetics have been started. Professors Tixeront, dean of the Theological faculty, Bourchany and Périer have dealt with the fol-

lowing subjects: the philosophy of modernism; the strain modernism imposes on the Catholic notions of revelation, faith, dogma; the scholastic theologian according to the modernists; the modernist theologian. Is the Christ of the modernist the Christ of the Faith? Is belief in the Trinity a primitive part of the Faith, and was its object revealed by Christ? Is belief in the Divinity of Christ a dogma of Greek origin? Was the Church founded by Christ and had it the marks of the Catholic Church? The reception given these various lectures proves how necessary they were, and how longed for. In Paris the number of auditors has often been as many as 400 or 500. Fortunately, too, as I said before, the number of our students has not decreased during the past few years in spite of threats; but even if they were to decrease the number of auditors alone would be more than enough to justify the maintenance of a Catholic staff of professors.

Indeed, in the face of attacks against all Christian belief, and of State-founded Chairs to urge war on it, where would Christians find reply were it not for our Catholic Universities? I say Christians: for I include our opponents of good faith who are seeking light. In Paris it often happens that professors from the State Universities, Rationalists, Protestants and Jews come to sit on our benches and take notes, and after the lecture discuss their difficulties with the lecturer.

Need I insist further? I do not think so. On June 3, 1908, in reply to the Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the Senate to examine into the Maxime Lecomte Bill for abrogating the Law of July 12, 1875, when questioned as to whether that law ought to stand, I said: "Yes, it ought to stand: (1) because the Catholic Universities

stand for liberty and religion, the great Christian religion which has a right in France to be taught in its entirety; (2) because they stand for them honorably and usefully."

It seems to me that the pages I have here written show the truth of my answer, and are proof positive to the Catholics who have backed us up, that their sacrifices were not in vain. At the beginning of this article I grumbled at the attitude of too many of our co-religionists. But how can I forget the truly admirable generosity of those who already weighed down by burdens, have assisted us with their contributions for over thirty years, not growing tired of our appeals, and at times answering in right royal manner. Is it not a matter for surprise that at Paris, especially, many new chairs and public conferences could be founded so soon after the separation of the Church and the State, at a time, too, when the bishops, in the face of dire necessity, were constrained to reduce their subsidies, and everyone predicted at least our decline if not our fall? Whatever pessimists may think it is a splendid proof of the vitality of our best French Catholics. "We venture to hope," said Mgr. Devaux, rector of Lyons, at the close of his evidence, "that the Senate Committee of Inquiry will adjudge that our work, thanks to the use we have made of the freedom we enjoy, has acquired new titles to existence; that, after so many sacrifices and struggles it has not deserved to die a legal death through the re-establishment of a state monopoly, which would be the height of tyranny, the enslaving of consciences. Moreover—if I may be allowed, in an affair of such importance, to refer to this minor matter which cannot in all fairness be quite overlooked—we hope that we have not deserved to see these professors who came to us on the faith of the lib-

erty we enjoyed and who have served us so devotedly, and even given up careers where honor and fortune awaited them, we hope we have not deserved to see them robbed of their justly acquired rights and condemned by an unjust confiscation carried out in the name of law, and leaving for the most part no compensation possible." And why should we be suppressed? Are our Universities hotbeds of political intrigue or do they foment national disunion? Far from it. Once more let me quote the eloquent words of the rector of Lyons before the Senate Committee: "The founders of the Catholic University of Lyons were not engaged in politics, they were not trying to obstruct the government, nor were they half-hearted even in their support of it. Their characters were too noble for such thoughts; and no such suspicion ever entered the minds of their Catholic friends on the staff of the State Universities, whose friendship was always reciprocated. The work they did—a work worthy of the respect of every liberal-minded man—was a work for Catholic liberty. In the name of their freedom and their faith they simply wanted to gain a footing on the ground of higher education, as Catholics twenty-five years before them, had acquired a footing on the ground of secondary teaching. Like the founders of our Christian Colleges they simply wanted to place within the reach of parents anxious for intellectual, moral and religious training of their children, a house where the higher culture might be acquired without danger of religion being forgotten, misrepresented or assailed as might be the case elsewhere, and where as in our Christian Colleges the student might find dogmatic harmony between the various faculties and the various professors. For thirty-one years I have had the honor of belonging to the Catho-

lic University of Lyons, and I can bear witness that not one of my colleagues in the present or in the past—without, however renouncing the right of private criticism which every French citizen is entitled to—has ever departed in his lectures from the respect due to the institutions of our country, and that our lecture-halls have never been used for a political propaganda, veiled or disguised, among the students."

I can say the same thing of the Catholic Institute of Paris, where I began as a lecturer twenty-six years ago. And if it is a fact that there are in our Universities today political parties more accentuated than formerly the State knows full well that the same is the case in its own universities.

I venture to say truly and sincerely that far from being centres of disunion the Catholic Universities have rather brought men together, and that in particular the higher ecclesiastical training, which we have described in this article, has been, in the words of Mgr. Battifol, "a worker for intellectual peace." And for this reason, that while safeguarding the faith of ecclesiastic and layman who attended our Universities when they would have attended no other that training initiated them into the methods and mentality of those who oppose us. And this identity of method is at least common ground. Further, this training showed them that the method need not necessarily prove destructive to Christian ideas, that religion is not yet played out, and that it can be conciliated with the legitimate aspirations of our time as well as of all times, and this is another common ground for sincere thinkers.

It follows then that only those who aim by hook or crook to bring about the ruin of the Catholic Faith can be anx-

ious to take away our already restricted liberty in the matter of higher education. And Catholics ought to know that if they once allow that liberty to be torn away from them they will not find elsewhere the means of upholding their faith.

To the two reasons given by me, before the Committee of Inquiry, for maintaining the Law of 1875, and referred to above, I added a third: "It is impossible to suggest anything to take the place of our Universities which would satisfy the consciences and the legitimate aspirations of Catholics."

In this era of separation between Church and State, and under this system of secularization which we have set up, can we fancy the State restoring chairs of Catholic theology in its Universities, choosing professors and paying them to uphold, defend, and propagate the Catholic Faith? Do we even find it restoring a State religion, that Christian Spiritualism which was once the official belief of the University?

But says someone, they will leave us free to teach our sacred sciences, and keep a monopoly of the rest. At the very outset of this study I showed the fundamental viciousness of that solution. Nor could the mere presence of a few Christian professors on the staff of the State Universities reassure us. True we respect these men: we revere them, we admire their courage and zeal. But one, two or three Christian professors on a neutral or hostile staff have only the force of their individual opinion, and do not constitute an authoritative teaching power; and the opinion of the individual would succumb in the struggle with his neighbors, who would quickly influence even the Catholic students.

Moreover these Christian professors are becoming

more and more isolated, more and more fettered in their action. What would happen if freedom of teaching no longer existed, if there were no competition to be feared, if this means of escape were removed? Anarchy of belief is the fatal consequence of freedom of thought as understood by modern State professors. Anarchy of belief leads to moral anarchy, if not in deed at least in principle.

To conclude, with M. E. Lamy, "Freedom of teaching, in all its stages, is at the present time not merely the exercise of a right. It alone perpetuates in France that faith which through its religious beliefs supplies the foundation of morality. It fulfils the most important function in the common weal. It stands as the last barrier against the threatening sea of anarchy which the State itself delights to stir up." (E. Lamy, "La Femme et l'enseignement d'Etat," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1, 1902.) Let Catholics not forget it. Since they can only count on their own teaching, let them defend and support it now that they still have it.

ALFRED BAUDRILLART,

Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

In *Le Correspondant*, August 10.



## Socialists and Catholics

Everyone has heard of "Semaines Sociales." Everyone knows that they are congresses on a small scale, peripatetic meetings lasting eight days, held in a different town each year, and given up by Catholics of easy circumstances, of disinterested sympathies and with no political aim in view, to the study of the duties of the age towards the working classes.

The sixth of these "Semaines," or "Social Weeklies" has been held at Bordeaux. A novelty lasting for six years in the land of fickleness becomes almost an institution; and it may not be out of place to explain how it originated, and what are its objects.

The social problem is the appalling enigma of the times ahead. The hopes of the future are arrayed against the deference due to the past; a world-war from which none may stand aloof is at hand. The social question is the "sign of contradiction" in the presence of which every discord is peace, and even now it is giving the lie to the greatest power of our own day, the power of words. Speeches predicting and justifying a change in the lot of the multitude flow like milk and honey. The independence and dignity of man paralyzed and degraded by squalor must be dealt kindly with; social order, imperilled by distress too great to be borne, must be the object of our concern; we must all hasten on the universal harmony which is to come in the train of justice.

Even the very uncouthness of speech of these prophets, ravished in spirit by their own visions, no-less than the very daring with which they attack the evils of the day, resound like the throbs of hearts bursting with a love for humanity.

When we turn from words to facts what do we find? We find the rich and poor in two opposing camps under the rival banners of fear and hate. The rich aim at safeguarding themselves against coming confiscation: the poor look on the inherited wealth of the rich as the fruits of an old-time robbery. Justice in their eyes takes on the form of revenge and the price of the happiness they dream of is to be paid by the sufferings of others. Fellowship from which the non-proletarians are excluded, is hardly a fact even among the workers themselves. Not that their common grudge against capital does not give them a certain unity, nor that they do not furnish occasional examples of whimsical or praiseworthy outbursts of generosity towards their fellows, reminding one of patches of the clear sky of former days peeping through the storm-clouds of the present. But among these fellow-soldiers love is neither deep nor lasting.

The violence with which these champions of international unity defend their crafts, even with knives, against foreign competition, the rage with which these champions of human liberty, when a strike is called, assault those who wish to go on working—the bitter jealousy with which these incorruptible lovers of equality keep women out of trades in which they themselves claim a monopoly,—all this goes to show the hollowness of their fraternity. Capitalists' galley-slaves, as they call themselves, their only bond of union is the chain they drag, and each one

feels only the burden of the links he himself is bound with.

Their alliance is not a union of love but of strategy. To win the victory they have need of their collective force and united effort, but each soldier of that vast army is out for what loot he can acquire, is fighting for his private gain. Each trades union dreams of laying down the law for the rest, and if not obeyed, of using force not only against the minority in the name of the majority, but even against the majority should the occasion promise success. This audacious attempt to lord it over others is best exemplified in the Miners' Union; and their intolerant autocracy does more than the violence of the few to reveal the contempt Socialism inculcates for the rights of the individual. Bosses leading on their groups, groups cuffing the masses ahead of them, masses in turn hurrying on towards the dividing of the spoils, and all engaged in turning the power of numbers to the advantage of a horde of individuals instead of to the public weal. On the other hand the selfishness of the monied classes is on the look out for a strong man who will save their goods from the chain-gang rabble. Thus all alike put their trust in brute force alone.

No sophism can obscure the evidence of these facts; and these facts are a necessary consequence of our modern civilization. Modern wisdom boasts of governing the world by reason alone—and in consequence it ignores whence man comes and whither he is going; it looks at him only in his present state, and since it finds his dominant passion to be a desire for happiness it is bound to conclude that the perfection of the universe is in proportion to the happiness man enjoys during his earthly passage.

Now, when the advantages with which the joys of existence seem to be bound up, are divided haphazard among men, such division grates on unaided reason as so much injustice, that for the most part cannot be put right. Neither bodily vigor, nor beauty of person, nor intelligence nor charm of personality can be taken away from the privileged classes. There is nothing that can be divided up but the riches of the earth which nature pours out to all men, and which man has so distributed as to emphasize still more the misfortunes of those whom nature has handicapped!

Their misery cries aloud to them that they have a right to seize on whatever they can share, and that they ought to do so at once since with the passing of this life goes their only chance of enjoyment, and happiness deferred is so much happiness lost. Socialism and its nebulous promises could hardly fail to find believers in such as these. But the equality they demand from the privileged classes is not the limit of their aims, nor are they willing to take a majority verdict on what constitutes equality. Individual instinct drives each man to be happy not on the level of other men's happiness, nor with that amount of good others think sufficient, but to be as happy as ever he can and more happy than others if he can. In such a matter man's instincts will recognize no outsider as judge: each one alone knows best what is to his own interest. To be satisfied with the portion allotted to him by the most socialistic of laws, if that portion is less than he had hoped for, would be to sacrifice himself in favor of an outsider; and why should he do it?

If, on the other hand, he sees a chance of increasing his substance at others' expense, his mind is made up in advance: for owing to the uncertainty of his destiny and

the certainty of his ambitions, he acknowledges duties towards no one but himself. The generous man becomes nothing but a prodigal: the egoist is a wise economist of his life: and the poor man has too much sympathy for himself to have room for sympathizing with others. His very companions become his natural enemies if they deprive him in any way, were it only of his wildest dreams, and they are his natural victims if he can only rob them of even their just rights. The Ego, the great divider of the human race, rules and governs. Its grasp extends as far as it can reach, and it renounces claim only to what it despairs of reaching. No laws, but the laws of war, hold sway. Could anything be more unstable, more brutal, more vile than such a state of society!

For centuries the world was very different. Time was when inequalities that could not be remedied, and sufferings more cruel than any that have to be borne to-day did not engender hate. A feeling of kindheartedness softened the rough edge of daily life; might feared the verdict of right; men of widely differing ranks felt themselves bound in a brotherhood of mutual concern and trust; and this leaven of kindness and long-suffering united the people in one commonwealth. Time was when the belief that life was a generous gift from God to man reigned undisputed, when men believed that life only begins on earth to go on immortal after death; that our existence here below is but a time of trial during which man must win a right to the happiness to come: that therefore man ought to be grateful for the gift of life; that the test of his gratitude is his obedience to the will of his Creator, his Master, and his Judge: that this will, as revealed to man, consists in the immutable laws that govern his public and private life; and that, lastly, God,

by a crowning stroke of His goodness has ordained as the perfection of man's gratitude to Him, kindness towards our neighbors, whom we should look upon as brethren, since we are all children of God. And to His religious faith the stability of civilized society was due. In the light of this faith everything in life became just, became orderly, became noble. The good and the ill of this world were lessened because the shortness of their span was swallowed up in the immensity of an endless future. The fortunate ones of this world were less unwilling to give: the poor less bitter in their demands, and even when poor as Job on his dunghheap they had always the consoling riches of their faith. Generosity on the one hand, moderation on the other and mutual esteem tended to show what men believed about the invisible world went a long way to influence their actions in the world around us.

The lesson was not lost on a few observers when towards the middle of the nineteenth century unbelief in Government circles begat Socialism. Not everyone had awaited that logical outcome before recognizing the falseness of the principle involved. Even when the attempt in its infancy seemed but a peaceful herald of a happier state of things there were to be found among Catholics most devoted to public liberty many energetic opponents of the idolatry with which the wisdom of the world was worshipping itself. However, when the working classes began to shake the social fabric and claim it as their own some sure protection against this imminent and terrible danger was necessary.

Clear-seeing men began to look for safety against social upheaval in a reform of teaching concerning society. In France, a man of science, Le Play, pointed out

the futility of that wisdom whose boast it was that it had crushed to dust and scattered to the four winds the rock on which society had hitherto stood, and he declared that the life to come is of the most absolute necessity for the life that now is. He held it an intellectual weakness to have no opinion concerning truth, and that the only conclusion worthy of a thinking being was to accept that hypothesis without which this world is a blank, whereas, once we accept it, everything becomes clear and harmonious.

Bishop Ketteler, in Germany, while he called on man to recognize God, and on society to take the Decalogue as its fundamental law, was aghast at the sufferings of the poor, at the resulting responsibility thrown on the selfishness of the rich, and at the dangers that threatened social order, and he pointed out where healing could be found, urging society to go back to Christianity to supplement the Decalogue by the Gospel, the law of justice, by the law of brotherly kindness. The war of 1870, which struck down a race most proud of its purely human reasoning, and the Commune, which disclosed what social hatreds unaided reason can store up, taught a lesson not only in theory but in stern fact. That lesson was learned by two young French officers who belonged to the old school that brooked ill the shame of France, and that lesson learned in sorrow has brought forth fruit in joy. La Tour du Pin and de Mun came back from Germany where they had meditated during their captivity, convinced that once more Christianity must save the world, must begin its work over again so as to continue it, and join together as in the early days hostile races and opposing social functions. Like true men of action they did not

consider their work done when they had pointed out what there was to do.

The same warnings had rung out across the frontiers and awakened the consciences of a few: in Austria two great lords, Vogelstang and Bloome, lent the social reform the support of their wealth which was bound to suffer heavily by that reform. In Italy Professor Toniolo was in quest of a Christian philosophical solution of the social difficulty. In Switzerland, a statesman, Decurtius, a man who had made a study of canon law and sought to apply its principles to existing facts, was endeavoring to introduce social legislation befitting a Christian State.

La Tour du Pin and de Mun did not see why a difference of nationality should keep apart those physicians of a disease that had no frontiers. If all were to consult together they would readjust and balance each others' ideas and perhaps from their mutual discussions some concerted uniform plan of action would arise. Thanks to the initiative and magnetism of French genius, this international group was formed and prospered and in time gave birth to the "Catholic Social Party." Every year until 1891 there went to Fribourg a score of people who put up in the same house for two weeks, and spent the time, to judge from the sounds of their voices, in endless quarrels, yet when they came to leave always seemed greater friends than on their arrival.

Politicians accustomed to parade their love of the people would have found it very strange that these passionately zealous seekers after social truth were only concerned to find out what was of counsel and what of precept in the dealings of man with man.

Every year they sent the minutes of their meeting to Rome. The more they looked into the subject the more



were they convinced that the mass of Catholics were living ignorant of the laws of religion, that what they considered liberal generosity was but the barest justice to their fellow men, and that with a quiet conscience they were neglecting duties important at all times but above all in times like ours. Furthermore, they were convinced that this forgetfulness had helped to build barriers between classes, and was hastening the conflict which might disrupt society. They ventured to hope that the Church would restate the principles of her teaching concerning the nature of proprietorship, the use of wealth, and the respect due to the most precious of earth's treasures, the fairest of the Creator's works, human life, in the person of the poor. Rome rejoiced at this request, which brought with it the echo of the Church's teaching, and began to realize that there were some Christians at least becoming in the words of Christ able to bear a truth hitherto too weighty for them. What took place at Fribourg was not the least of the influences that decided Leo XIII to raise the voice of the Church reminding the world of its duty in his Encyclical of 1891 on the Condition of Labor. That Encyclical laid down the principles along which social peace would win over social war. But though these principles are the same and unvarying at all times and in all places the methods of applying them vary in diverse lands and in the opinions of individuals in those lands. The Frenchmen who had taken part in the work done at Fribourg thought the time opportune for a new task. It was now necessary to choose and fix the most efficacious means, the readiest, the most practical method of carrying out that social reform in the France of to-day.

Enlarging and narrowing down their Fribourg plat-

form they resolved to hold a meeting annually in France. As the French are quick to grasp an idea and quick to weary of it they decided that one week would be long enough for their purpose. And as the love for social discussion was in the air and only needed to be fostered, the group became a congress so as to give opportunity for discussion before a large public audience if the public cared to attend.

The public did care. From the first of the "Social Weeklies," in 1904, the members in the audience have gone on increasing; and the spirit of the debates has become more lively. Lyons, Orleans, Dijon, Amiens, Marseilles, Bordeaux, have been stages on a march of ever increasing success. Even when France acts only on her own behalf she is reacting on other countries, and her attempts are so many propagandas.

Italy, Belgium, Austria, Spain, have borrowed the congress habit and all have their "Social Weeklies." In those of France the audience is composed of all classes: professors, writers, priests, working men, students. Women are largely in evidence: but the young are in the majority. The Social problem worries and disturbs those who have reached an age that has no taste for novelties, while it interests without discouraging the rising generation.

The numbers in the audience go on increasing, drawn by the instructiveness of the debates, by the eloquence of famed orators, and the straightforward cut and dry teaching that is given.

During the first of the "Semaines Sociales," M. Henri Lorin, who first conceived this idea, laid down their object in the following terms:

As practical Catholics we desire on the one hand to

be guided by what the Church teaches and exacts on social questions, and to be swayed in our social dealings by the demands of justice as contained in the teachings of our faith; on the other hand we aim at piecing together what is unwittingly Catholic and profoundly true in the various social theories that have been propounded, and at getting men, who unknown to themselves share our ideas, to see how near they are to the Christian ideal, to realize how much they are borrowing from it, and what ought to be the logical outcome of their efforts.

At that time Socialism was in transit from mere propaganda to its first successes. The earliest of these was won among the *bourgeoisie*, middle classes. The agnostic postulate on which the professional philosophers endeavored to build up their new social order had multiplied the number of those who rebelled against social conditions which that postulate discredited. They were soon strong enough to be a power at the elections, and later, in the parliament, a party that the Government could not ignore; they were even given posts in the ministry by politicians priding themselves on their cunning, who thought they could control the fire by placating the incendiaries.

Thus the Socialists gained control of a certain amount of public authority, enough to show what they would do if ever they came to control it absolutely.

Nothing could be more foreign to their view than that the independence and initiative of the working man should increase his chances of success in the struggle of life. The one, steady, greedy aim of the Socialist leaders was a sort of State-made happiness in which the mob would have a share. They aimed at increasing more and more the power of the State until it should everywhere usurp the initiative of the individual and spare the wretched all effort to remedy his lot. The State was eventually to

absorb private industries and meanwhile it ought to make rules for them, make laws for them, and supervise them. The State ought to be the arbiter in disputes between Capital and Labor. The State ought to assume the employer at fault whenever a workman was accidentally injured. The State ought to fix in the workman's favor, the hours of his daily toil and the wages to be paid for it. The State ought to see that Capital laid by a pension fund for the workers, and that the workers were exempt from the public taxes. Such were some of the reforms supported in Parliament; and they were logical enough. Why encourage the workingman to better his social condition, seeing that society with unvarying injustice to him would always bring to bear its collective power to crush the poor man's effort to better himself? Was it not right to pull the social fabric down and not leave stone upon stone so as to liberate those unfortunate ones it was crushing beneath it? Moreover, to make it all endurable were they not going to build it up again after their own plans? However, instead of this wholesale scheme of pulling down and building up the Socialists in Parliament were only allowed to alter a few details in the edifice they condemned, but these little alterations are so many samples or forecasts of what the completed structure would be like. The expropriation by the State of the Orleans and Ouest Railroads is but a foretaste of the simular absorption of all great undertakings. This dragging of the State into the labor contract, into the question of wages and pensions is but the first step towards a State control of all production, in which the State will assign to each the task he must do and the amount he must receive for doing it; in which the State will control the very lives of men.

Meanwhile the miners, by the success of their reforms and ease with which they obtained better terms, have been accustoming the working classes to despise individual effort, to trust in the methods of their bosses and not to yield until having become sole heirs of power, they will have transformed the world through the overlordship of the State. On the other hand the great body of Catholics were instinctively suspicious of State inroads. From the very fact that following the lead of eighteenth-century thought, the State boasted that it had nothing to do with religion, Catholics hoped little from it as far as their main interests were concerned. Not only did they not think themselves sufficiently strong to modify this philosophic position of the State, but very many of them, infected with the spirit of their age, were ready to go a long way towards accepting as the most natural thing in the world that politics had nothing to do with a hereafter.

This scepticism of the State had been so often harped on as reasonable, as necessary and as indestructible that in the end it really seemed so to them: and it also seemed so aloof from what they held most dear that they dreaded even the support of its incompetency. To protect the Faith, they trusted in themselves alone. Hence the great effort of Catholics was limited to carrying on a boundary war with the State, for the demarcation of individual liberty against State encroachments. They were inclined to look upon as lost whatever they had to yield to such a Government, and as saved whatever they were successful in refusing. Their political dogma was that the more they restricted the grasp of the State and extended that of the individual the better were they serving Catholicity. It was in this way that they carried on the greatest fight

since the French Revolution, the fight over the education question. They never dreamt of insisting that the State should train the youth of France to respect their religious beliefs; their whole aim was to snatch their sons from State control as from a master incapable of teaching the word of moral life.

It was the same in works of charitable organization. As they despaired of improving matters by joining their efforts to those of the State, they carried on their own charitable work as a distinct organization. It is the same thing over again on the social question. They are endeavoring to meet it on Catholic grounds and to solve it with the help of Catholic virtues, while repudiating all assistance from a sceptical and biassed State.

The Catholics of the "Semaines Sociales" discovered another means of Christian defense. They were not content with being faithful in a faithless State. They held that for Christians to resign themselves to scepticism in a State that represented them was treason. They were not content with having merely the rights of a minority in a free country, and places of sanctuary in a strange land. They wanted to get rid of the contradiction existing between their personal beliefs, and the official unbelief of their national life.

Convinced that God did not give His law to a being made for solitude, as though it were the mystery of some secret worship, but to a being made for society, and gave it to be a guide in his dealings with his fellow-men, they claim for that law observance not only by individuals but by nations. If it is of obligation on each individual man how could it cease to bind a society composed of such individuals? And by what reason could those whom they have given power to represent them exercise such

power while ignoring what remains truth and duty for the individual? Instead of being ignored or contradicted they wanted Christianity recognized and adopted and served by the State, and that the Law of God should be the norm of the laws of the nation.

It is true that in France many had lost the faith and thought it right that the government should represent their atheism; but the majority even though they should have forgotten Christ, live because of Christian civilization, even as at twilight the traveler can still walk on in the light of a sun that has already set. That waning light still enlightened many of the laws proposed by the Socialist party! Would it have been right to quench it by rejecting them? The Catholic Social party did not think so. They thought they saw rather the work of Providence, Who sometimes employs even His enemies to accomplish His aims. They hoped by accepting these laws to let in a few gleams of Gospel light on modern legislation, and by their concern for the multitude, on which Christ had compassion, to pave the way for other laws in which God would be given His place. Such was the reason why from the very opening "Semaine Sociale" they did not hesitate to approve in principle the parliamentary enterprise of the Socialists, which they did so frankly, so confidently and so sympathetically, that it became a question, so warm was their approval, whether they did not look upon State control as the principal means of bringing about social reform.

It was a new departure, and for Catholics brought up on the old line, it was almost a scandal. They met this confidence (excessive confidence, they thought it), in the efficacy of reform by legislation with grave misgivings and solid arguments.

"The Catholic Socialists," said they, "are being led away by a noble dream, but a dream nevertheless. They made no mistake as to the magisterium or controlling powers which might belong to a Government in a truly Christian society whose chief object would be to attain its Divine end by every means in its power."

ETIENNE LAMY,

*de l'Académie Française.*

*In Le Correspondant*, Aug. 25, 1909.



## What The Catholic Church Stands For

[This address, prepared by the Most Rev. William H. O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, was read by the Very Rev. M. J. Splaine, D.D., who was delegated to represent the archbishop on the occasion, at a meeting of the Women's Alliance, on November 10, 1909. The Women's Alliance is a society of non-Catholic women of Boston whose object is seriously to consider the origin and fundamental principles of religion and it was in answer to a request to tell them what the Catholic Church stands for that the Archbishop wrote the paper here given.—ED. CATHOLIC MIND.]

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It is with deep appreciation of all that the invitation implies that I come to present to you the position of the Catholic Church in the United States; to tell you what she stands for, what she is doing and what are the sources of her stability and strength.

Preconceived opinions and inherited prejudices, particularly in religious matters, tend naturally to make men either blind or indifferent to the merits of systems other than their own. It is a proof alike of benevolence and of broad intelligence that you are desirous of learning at first hand of the religious force that shapes the spiritual lives of many millions of your fellow-citizens. It is a great gain to understand clearly the principles upon which our fellow-beings act. Misunderstanding of them

issues in suspicion, distrust and discord, which can be sources only of weakness to the community and to the State.

Is there not more than one unhappy chapter in the history of our city in the last hundred years, which would not have been written, had all its citizens understood the beliefs, principles and motives of their fellows? Society must rest upon the mutual confidence of its members, in the sincerity and good faith of one towards another. Without this confidence there will be no genuine peace, no true progress, no general happiness. We are all bound to heed the voice of conscience and to follow the light of truth, so far as we can see it. And when once we have accepted a principle we should be willing to follow it to its logical conclusion.

#### NO COMPROMISE OF POSITION.

In inviting a priest to place before you the Catholic position, you are but acting on a recognized Protestant principle, which is one of inquiry. That in accepting your invitation I am not contravening a Catholic principle will be evident after a brief and frank explanation. Every organization must have laws, and if it is to be permanent, it must require obedience to those laws. Now, it is a law of the Catholic Church that her children are not to have communication with those outside her communion in matters pertaining to worship—"Nulla Communicatio in Sacris" is the phrase used by her theologians. I therefore could not come here to join with you in a religious service. This may appear to you narrow, but you must concede at least that the Catholic Church accepts the logic of her principles. The Catholic Church maintains that she alone is the true Church; that she alone has re-

ceived her doctrine, her orders and her mission from Christ. To permit her children to take part in what she considers an heretical form of worship would be to recognize that worship as being on a plane of equality with her own, and in effect to deny one of her fundamental principles. In legislating thus, however, the Church makes no claim whatever to judge the inward dispositions of worshippers outside her communion. God alone is the searcher of hearts. But in this, as in so many other matters, we must bear in mind the fundamental distinction between subjective and objective truth.

#### CANNOT JOIN IN WORSHIP.

Objective truth is that which corresponds with reality; while subjective truth is that which the particular mind apprehends as true. Every day we meet thoroughly conscientious people who hold propositions as true which in reality are erroneous. God will judge men by the fidelity with which they live up to the truth as they have been given light to see it; but it remains the business of the Church, nevertheless, to protect objective religious truth, as it is the business of philosophy to determine metaphysical truth, and of science to discover physical truth. As a Catholic, therefore, I cannot in any way join with you in your form of worship; but I am allowed by permission of my ecclesiastical superiors to come here to set forth the truth of Catholic doctrines and principles; and I am grateful for the opportunity which your courtesy and good will have offered for promoting a better understanding of what the Catholic Church really means to this dear city and to this noble nation.

You wish to know what the Catholic Church actually is, what are the salient principles that hold it together,

what is the cause of its permanency and continuous strength. And it is well for you at this juncture to take deliberate measurement of her power, for every unit of that power will be needed in the titanic struggle begun once again between Christianity and the old Paganism, reborn and equipped with new allurements. Already the battle is on, and it rages far more fiercely than surface appearances would indicate. It is no longer a question of particular doctrine, but of the acceptance or rejection of Christianity itself.

The war now is against the whole Christian scheme of belief and conduct. And it is easy to see why the enemies of religion and of the existing order should concentrate their attack upon the Church of Christ. What is movable, they by easy gradations may change; but what is immovable they will assault continuously in the hope that some day they may break down the one barrier to the reign of their subversive ideas. In the growing heat of this conflict for the mastery of the world between Christian and anti-Christian ideas, we find that too many forces on the Christian side, instead of concentrating and strengthening their position, are being disintegrated and dissipated. At the behest of a specious scholarship, they are abandoning position after position, which they had occupied for generations, until it looks as though the dread of appearing to be in opposition to to-day's critical dictum, which to-morrow's scholarship may repudiate, will stampede them entirely out of the Christian camp.

#### ESSENTIAL DOCTRINES ELIMINATED.

It is difficult now to find out what many Christians mean by Christianity. The Protestant revolt of the Six-

teenth century was in the beginning largely schismatical. It was the substitution of the supremacy of the State for the supremacy of the Pope in matters spiritual. The sects, notwithstanding their rejection of the teaching authority of the Church, carried out a great body of Christian doctrine, which, formulated into creeds, fashioned ideas and gave motive power to the lives of their adherents through generations. Then began the process of elimination of doctrines once regarded as essential, until now in some denominations little is left to differentiate them from purely Rationalistic schools of thought.

You do stand for distinctively Christian creed; you do stand for the divinity of Christ and for the perpetuation of His mission upon earth; you work for the triumph of Christian principles and the reign of the Christian moral law. And all who believe that Christ is the Son of God will soon be called to a positive defence of their position. The Catholic Church knows what that attack is, because she met it first over eighteen hundred years ago. She knows what the defence must be, for she bears upon her the scars of her successive victorious battles for the divinity of Christ with the Ebionites and Arians and Nestorians;—conflicts that were waged against a combination of dialectic skill and metaphysical subtleties and clever evasion and the backing of civil power from one end of Christendom to the other, over a period covering more than four hundred years.

Under the latest attack, in some lands already being delivered, she will be firm and immovable as she was in the days of her youthful energy. She will not compromise; she will not flinch; she will affirm now what she affirmed in the days of Cyril, in the days of Athanasius, and in the days of John.

In this is her strength. This is what you wish to know. But her strength is not in affirmation only. A mere assertion of truth, however divine, would not mean perpetuity. The strength of the Church is in her action as well as in her affirmation; and the springs and principles of that action are the same to-day that they were from the beginning, and they operate with greater effectiveness and more harmony in the twentieth century than they did in the first. What, then, are these principles? What is the secret of the Church's perennial life?

#### CHRIST CAME TO SAVE ALL.

The Son of God came to earth to bring to the darkened intellects of men the fulness of truth, and to their starved and impoverished souls the fulness of life. He came not only to remove from the path of men the obstacles to their entrance into the possession of unending life in God, but He came to point out to them the way and to give them the power to conquer a place in His heavenly kingdom. He came not for one generation nor for one small province, but for all time and for all nations.

It is evident that since truth requires propagation and life transmission, if they are to reach the mass of men, Christ must have established an agency or an organization to spread through the nations and through the ages His truth and His power. That organization, with definite powers and functions, He constituted in the form of a society which we call the Church. Without such a society possessing authority to teach and to govern, Christianity would have been launched into the world as a mere tendency, or at most a philosophy, left to take its chance with the fleshly and selfish currents of the

day. That Christ could have acted in any such haphazard way in a matter of such vital importance to the human race is a proposition unthinkable in spite of Harnack's theory of the Church's coming into existence in the third century after Christ's death. Practically all Christians, from the abundant evidence of the Scriptures, are agreed that Christ established a Church of some kind.

#### CHRIST'S CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

Now, what kind of a Church did He establish? Let us look at the matter *a priori*, and consider what ought to be the predominant characteristic of a Church which was to effect the realization of Christ's purpose. That sublime purpose was no other than to bring all the clashing classes and discordant races of men into the unity of one loving human family, whose common Father is in Heaven. Truly a purpose worthy of the wisdom, the love and the power of God! Every other religion that has appeared in history has been either tribal or national or missionary only to a limited degree. The savage or barbarian not yet incorporated into a national life, and with but the merest rudiments of the arts, has no wider outlook in his religion than the narrow limitations of his tribe. As men have advanced in civilization and developed into nations and empires, their religions have expanded with their general growth, but in no case have they risen to the plane of the universal. China circumscribes Confucianism, India Brahminism, Persia Zoroastrianism. To the Egyptian, Osiris, Isis and Horus were a triad interested only in the children of the Nile. Zeus, Pallas-Athene and Apollo were essentially Grecian, with the Greek's contempt for the barbarian world. The

30,000 gods of Rome counted by Varro were all national, and their ruling divinities accompanied the legions in their conquering marches.

Buddhism and Mohamedanism have essayed expansion, but they have never won the intellect or the heart of the progressive races of men. Judaism was intensely national, and while it indulged the hope of Gentile conversion, it was rather a dream of political greatness in which the Gentiles should become Hebraicised. But Christ would admit no national, class or racial barriers in His religion. The whole world was to be levelled to the dust before God. There was to be no distinction of persons; all had to return to the original idea of the race as a single family; none might follow Christ, who would not recognize that all men were their brethren. The acceptance of this truth was an essential condition for membership in the new Church. It was strange and hard doctrine for the self-centered Jew, the intellectual Greek, the proud Roman.

#### APOSTLES MET DIFFICULTIES.

Many a difficulty the Apostles met in persuading their converts that there was no longer Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian, bond or free. Indeed it had required a vision from heaven to make Peter himself understand that nothing that God had created was unclean. The earliest converts were from Judaism, and they naturally sought to engraft on the new religion the ideas and customs in which they had been bred. And before their ardor for the perpetuation of the obligations of the Mosaic law could be restrained, a general council had to be assembled to settle forever the question of circumcision. Since, then, the Church of Christ was



to embrace every race and nation, and yet was to take on no racial or national ideas, it was necessary that above all things it should possess unity;—unity of doctrine, for truth is one, error multiform; unity of worship, expressing the truth in ritual; unity of government and of discipline in the working out of the truth.

This unity was essential; without it there would be no universality. The Catholicity of the Church is but the expansion of its unity. Without unity of doctrine there would be as many opinions as there were individuals; without unity of government, the one Church would soon be divided into a multiplicity of sects. And a Church rent into fragments at war with one another could no more be considered a universal church than can the nations of the world armed to the teeth and jealous of each other's might, be considered to constitute one grand parliament of peace. What are the types selected by our Saviour to indicate the nature of His Church? A household, a kingdom, the vine and the branches, the sheepfold—all pictures of unity.

"Every kingdom," He tells us, "divided against itself, shall be made desolate; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." (Matt., XII., 25.) And was not the burden of His very last prayer before entering upon His agony a cry for unity among His fellows? "Holy Father, keep them in Thy name whom Thou hast given Me; that they may be one, as We also are.—And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me; that they all may be one as Thou, Father in Me and I in Thee, that they may also be one in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." (John, XVII., 11, 20, 21.) Was that prayer, gushing out of the heart of the God-man,

as He was about to leave the table of the Last Supper, to be unanswered?

#### UNITY NECESSARY MARK OF CHURCH.

If we do not accept unity as a necessary mark of the Church, must we not look upon the language of the Apostles when speaking of schism and divisions, as exaggerations of wild excitement? St. Paul, on hearing of the schism that had rent the Church at Corinth, asks: "Is Christ divided?" (I Cor., I., 13.) And elsewhere, describing the Church as the body of Christ, he says: "For as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body; so also is Christ; for in one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one spirit we have all been made to drink." (I Cor., XII., 12, 13.) He tells the Ephesians to be "careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One Body and one Spirit; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." (Eph., IV., 3, 4, 5.) The Unity of Spirit was not to be reconciled with diversity of creeds. For Christ came to reveal the Truth. A diversity of creeds would mean that the Truth had been lost in the mazes of human error, and that the Church was no longer "the pillar and ground of truth."

Taking human nature as it is, by what means was Christ to secure this most difficult of things; perpetual unity in a multitudinous body of all nations and races, and classes and climes? Not by the establishment of various independent churches, since inevitably these would develop into representatives of racial and national ideals and modes of thought. Truth itself cannot vary,

but to avoid the variations of fallible expounders there must be a final court of judgment, constituted by Christ to declare infallibly what His doctrine is. Without an infallible guiding principle the Church would be carried to and fro by every wind of doctrine. It would soon lose its essential oneness, and be dissolved into a number of contending branches. Neither could a book, however divine, achieve this result by itself. For a book cannot govern, and a book treating of the mysteries of God needs interpretation. And how could a uniform interpretation be maintained through the ages? Individual teachers will inevitably give to their explanations the coloring of their own minds, feelings and prejudices. There must be a teaching authority that knows and can answer infallibly the question—is this so?—otherwise we should have an endless chain of unsatisfactory, because uncertain, teachers. If the acceptance of the revelation of Christ is necessary for salvation, men must know with certainty what that revelation is. And, if the teaching Church can err in any point, it can err in all; and there is then no guarantee of the truth of any doctrine.

The Church maintains that Christ did establish such a teaching authority in the Church, such a final court of appeal; and that historically He made Peter that court of appeal. She interprets the words of Christ to the leader of the Apostles: "I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," not only as indicative of Peter's future primacy in the government of the Church, but as a promise of the gift of inerrancy in guiding and expounding the body of doctrines to be committed to the Church. This promise Christ fulfilled

after the Resurrection, when He gave to Peter his commission as chief shepherd of the flock: "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep."

#### PETER'S PRIMACY WAS JUDICIAL.

After the Lord's ascension, Peter exercised at once that primacy in government and teaching which had been directly promised and bestowed and indirectly foreshadowed in so many ways during the Saviour's ministry. When it was question of filling the place left vacant by the traitor, it was Peter who rose up in the midst of the brethren and decided what must be done. As in the days of Christ's visible presence, Peter had been everywhere first among the Apostles both in word and action, so he continued after the Master's departure to be the first, the leader and spokesman of the Apostolic band. As it had been from Peter's bark that Christ taught the multitude, as it was Peter who received the command to let down the net for the miraculous draught of fishes, and as it was to him the promise was made that he should henceforth catch men, so it was Peter who first preached the message of salvation to the Jews on that wonderful day of Pentecost, when three thousand souls were added to the believers.

It was Peter, too, who, taught by a vision from heaven, was the first to undertake the conversion of the Gentiles. And when in the council at Jerusalem there was "much disputing" in the warm controversy as to the attitude to be taken towards the customs of the Mosaic law, Peter arose, and speaking with authority definitely decided the question. And the whole council without further debate acquiesced in the decision. A close study of the fifteen years following Pentecost will show that

through Peter's guidance the Church in that time had been organized in its essential parts.

The office of Shepherd with its supreme teaching and governing authority was not personal to Peter any more than the general powers given to the other Apostles were personal to them. Christ established His Church for all time, and whatever powers were necessary for the perpetuation of the Church, whether in teaching or in governing or in conferring of the sacraments, were to be transmitted by the Apostles to faithful successors in the Apostolic office. So, too, the supreme office of St. Peter was to be transmitted to his successors. For if it was necessary in the infancy of the Church, how much more such a unit of interpretation would be needed in the lapse of years, as Christians, in point of time, would be farther and farther removed from Christ and subjected to increasing dangers of laxity and of false opinions.

#### AUTHORITY OF PAPACY TWOFOLD.

It is this principle of twofold authority in teaching and governing which constitutes the Papacy, and the Papacy is the bond which holds together in indissoluble unity all the diverse elements in the Church. The Bishop of Rome is not first in honor only among the Bishops of the world. The words of Christ to Peter, and through him to his successors: "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven," indicate clearly the bestowal of a supreme authority, and supreme authority supposes the right to govern and direct, and not merely a primacy of honor.

That this was the understanding of Peter's supremacy

by the early Church may be seen from the Commentaries of the Fathers on the texts referring to Peter. St. Ambrose says: "Where Peter is, there is the Church"; thus making communion with the See of Peter the test of orthodoxy. St. Jerome, the greatest scriptural scholar of the early Church, says: "One is chosen among the twelve, that a head being established, the occasion of schism may be removed." St. Chrysostom says: "Christ placed Peter over the entire world: he is the basis of the Church; the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven. To him the Lord gave the presidency of the Church through the entire world." St. Cyprian calls Peter the source of unity. St. Irenaeus says that every other church should agree with the Roman on account of its superiority of headship. St. Augustine, speaking to the Manicheans of the reasons which hold him in the Catholic Church, says: "I am held by the consent of people and nations; by that authority which began in miracles, was nourished in hope, increased by charity, and made steadfast by age; by that succession of priests from the chair of the Apostle Peter, to whose feeding, the Lord after His resurrection commended His sheep, even to the present episcopate; lastly, by the very title of Catholic, which not without cause hath this Church alone, amid so many heresies, obtained in such sort that whereas all heretics wished to be called Catholics, nevertheless, to any stranger who wished to find the Catholic Church, none of them would dare to point to his own basilica or home."

#### TESTIMONY OF ST. MAXIMUS.

St. Maximus, an eastern abbot and martyr, speaking to Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had fallen

into the Monothelite heresy, says that if he would not be considered a heretic, he must seek before all to satisfy the Roman See. That done, all will everywhere hold him orthodox. These testimonies, typical of the teaching of the Fathers, bear witness to the belief that Peter's See had authority over the whole flock of Christ. This authority includes, of necessity, the guardianship of the Faith, and therefore the final judgment in whatever concerns it. This final judgment in turn implies the gift of inerrancy or infallibility. Perhaps there is no Catholic doctrine so frequently misunderstood as that of Papal Infallibility. It may be well, then, to state briefly just what that doctrine is—and what it is not.

Every intelligent person knows, of course, that infallibility is not to be confounded with impeccability. An infallible Pope does not mean a Pope immune from sin. Like every good Catholic, the Pope regularly makes confession of his sins. Like every priest who offers the sacrifice of the Mass, at the foot of the altar, the Pope must proclaim himself a sinner before God, before angels and men, thrice striking his breast and saying "Through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault." Again before receiving the Sacred Host he strikes his breast three times and repeats the words of the Centurion: "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof."

#### PRIESTS PRAY FOR THE POPE.

Priests throughout the world are directed to add to the prayers of the Mass a supplication that God may so guide the Supreme Pontiff that he may both save himself and bring to salvation the flock committed to him. He himself daily spends hours in prayer that he may be equal

to the tremendous responsibility laid upon him. Again, when there is question of infallibility, we must distinguish between the Pope in his private and individual capacity, and in his public and official action. Infallibility does not attach to the Pope as a private person, nor as a temporal sovereign. He is not infallible as a private theologian stating his own opinion, nor even as Pope when he delivers decisions in judicial cases which depend on the testimony of men.

Papal infallibility, moreover, is not inspiration such as was possessed by the Apostles: it is not a new revelation: it is only a divine assistance by which the Pontiffs are enabled "to preserve and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of the Faith delivered through the Apostles." It does not come from personal learning or wisdom, but from the divine assistance promised in Peter. The Pope, then, cannot define any doctrine not contained either expressly or implicitly in the original deposit of the Faith; for the Church can teach nothing which she has not received. He cannot, therefore, go outside of the sphere of faith and morals, and before giving a decision in this sphere he will use every means at his command to make certain of what is conformable to Holy Scripture and the Apostolic Tradition.

#### WHAT INFALLIBILITY IS.

The Pope, then, is infallible only in his official character, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—i. e., from his official Teaching Chair—as the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and when thus speaking he defines by his supreme Apostolic authority a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the universal Church. Under these circumstances, the Sovereign Pontiff "is endowed with the



same infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished His Church to be invested while defining a doctrine on faith or morals."

The Vatican Council in defining the official Infallibility of the Pope, set up no new doctrine, but proclaimed solemnly a truth which in all its essentials had been generally and practically accepted and acted upon by the Catholic Church. From the beginning Christians accepted the infallibility of the Church herself, resting upon the promise of Christ that He would be with her all days even to the consummation of the world; and again, that He would send upon His Apostles another Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, who would teach them all truth and remain with them forever. Now the infallible Church necessarily implies an infallible pontiff; they stand or fall together. Logic forbids us to admit an infallible church resting upon a fallible foundation: an infallible sheepfold guided and nurtured by a fallible shepherd: an infallible body with a fallible head. For if the head may err, the whole flock will go astray.

#### THE POPE'S JURISDICTION.

The other element of the authority of the Papacy is its jurisdiction—the right to the supreme government of the Church. This supreme authority carries with it legislative, executive and judicial power. The object of this jurisdiction is to establish and enforce such laws and disciplinary regulations as are necessary for the good of the Church, for the safeguarding of sound doctrine, and for the preservation of the fervor of spiritual life in the Church's members.

While the See of Rome is vested with jurisdiction over the entire Church, all functions of Church government

are by no means absorbed in the primacy. The Pope does not rule alone, but governs with and through the bishops. The bishops are the successors of the Apostles, because in union with the head of the Church they constitute a corporate body that is the heir of the general powers of the Apostolate. Each bishop has jurisdiction over his own diocese, and within its limits possesses legislative, judicial and executive authority. He is shepherd of that portion of the flock entrusted to him, and not merely the vicar of the pope. The bishops as a body corporate take part in the government of the universal Church; they have a voice in œcumenical councils, and, acting with the Pope, they may make laws of general discipline, and give decisions on points of controversy concerning the Faith.

#### NO ARBITRARY POWER IN CHURCH.

Unlimited or arbitrary power resides neither in the Pope nor in the bishops, but the authority of both is fixed by the bounds within which Christ has confined the essential elements of the constitution of the Church. The priests of the Church belong to the divinely constituted hierarchy; but they have no share in the external government of the Church. They have power to administer the sacraments, to preach the Gospel and to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. They serve in this country as vicars of the bishop in the administration of the temporalities of the parishes over which they are placed, and it is through them, principally, that the bishop acts continuously upon all his people. Thus through the bond of an ascending hierarchy, no element in the Church is unrelated to the other elements. The obscurest parish feels that it is a unit, however small,

in the great universal Church, and there is no mission, however separated by seas and continents from the center of unity, that does not feel the throbbings of the great heart of Christendom.

#### CHURCH'S AUTHORITY FROM GOD.

All authority and power in the Church are from above. From the Shepherd, and not from the sheep comes the warrant to teach, govern and confer the Sacraments. Christ is the One Prophet Who has given men the revelation of truth; He is the One Priest and Mediator ever making intercession for us; He is the One King Who through His Providence rules His kingdom on earth. And if He wills to exercise this three-fold office through earthly representatives, it is He alone Who can give to men the right to speak as His ambassadors, to administer His Sacraments, and to govern in His name a supernatural society, whose purpose is to lead mankind to a supernatural end.

Now if it be true that Christ came to establish a universal church, if, reasoning *a priori*, we find that unity is indispensable to universality, and that unity itself must proceed from a principle of supreme authority in teaching and governing; if, furthermore, we find that Christ did establish such a principle of authority as the basis of the Constitution of the Church, and that this principle has been in operation, then history should show that this plan of organization has succeeded. It has succeeded. A study of the early centuries will show that so many, so radical and so virulent were the attacks on vital points of Christian doctrine, so great and widespread were the mental disorder and confusion, that

again and again Christianity would have gone to pieces were it not for the strong rock of Rome, which could not be shaken by any storm.

#### HERESY EVER PRESENT.

In the first centuries, besides Judaism and the ever present Paganism, there were Gnosticism, Montanism and the Oriental mysteries to contend with. In the second century, Gnosticism, under some form or other, was professed in every part of the civilized world, and had as many schools as Greece or Asia could boast in their happiest days.

With the fourth century came a procession of new and more vigorous heresies and schisms. In the days of Basil, Athanasius and Augustine, few were the districts in the world which did not present a number of creeds for one's choice. Meletians, Donatists, Priscillianists, Manichees, Originists, Novatians, Apollinarians, Eunomians flourished, some in one quarter and some in another. Arianism, more dangerous and aggressive than these, enjoyed the patronage of the first Christian emperors, was adopted by the barbarians who succeeded to their power, dominated the Eastern Empire in the fourth century, and almost possessed the West in the fifth. The following centuries saw nearly all of Christian Asia possessed by the Nestorians, while Egypt was practically in the hands of Monophysites.

In those desolate ages of persistent heresies and schisms, the popes saved Christianity, and they were able to do so because their office of supreme authority was acknowledged by bishops and councils. Again in that long and trying period, which was so full of fate for the future development of the race—the Middle Age—what

would have become of the One Christian Church, but for the Papacy with its supreme authority, both to teach and to govern. It would have been split into an indefinite number of royal, ducal or baronial churches, subservient to the iron will of unscrupulous masters.

#### POWERFUL INFLUENCE OF PAPACY.

Milman, in his "Latin Christianity," has said of the Papacy: "Providence might have ordained otherwise, but it is impossible for a man to imagine by what other organizing or consolidating force the commonwealth of western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still a league with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long, ceaseless wars on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilization known to man. It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages without the mediæval Papacy." These words of a master student of history may be applied with even greater force to the unifying and preserving influence of the Papacy in the sphere of religion.

The Greek schism shows what would have happened to general Christianity were it not for the organizations of the Papacy. When the ambition of the patriarchs of Constantinople led to the final rupture with the Roman See, the Greek church became the slave of the emperors of Constantinople, and its clergy were reduced to a state of bondage to the civil power by honors and riches as well as by threats and persecutions. So, to-day, is the Russian Church dominated by the Czar.

It is quite true that the working of this principle of

authority in the Papacy has not been without friction during the ages. What principle could work in this world and accomplish great results, without friction? There have been mighty assaults against it from without, and formidable revolts against it from within. But under it all the Papacy has stood firm. The few unworthy men who succeeded in thrusting themselves into the great office are no argument against the constitution of the Papacy, any more than the intrusion of unfit men into the office of bishop is an argument against the establishment of the episcopate. These unworthy individuals, whatever their private lives, never attempted to change anything in the doctrine of the Church. The Papacy has never but done its public duty, and the entire episcopate has stood as one in the definition of truth. Indeed, we may find an evidence of the divine Providence that watches over the Papacy, in the fact that nearly all of the Roman Pontiffs have been men of holy life, and about one-third of them have been martyrs or canonized saints.

#### CHURCH'S VIGOR FROM PAPACY.

In modern times, as in ancient, it is the Papacy from which radiates the Church's life and vigor. It was the Papacy which kept the Church from being shattered in the era of the Protestant Reformation. The world was ripe for a religious revolution. The weakening of respect for religious authority by the great Western Schism; the existence of numerous abuses and a general relaxation of discipline, against which zealous bishops and priests had vehemently preached in vain; the wealth of the Church, which excited the cupidity of nobles and princes—all these causes working through generations, brought on the storm that threatened the very existence of the

Church. Again it was the Papacy that took the helm. A series of great popes inaugurated and kept in motion the work of the Council of Trent. No other Council in the Church's history has met so many difficult and important questions. By the precision and clearness of its definitions of doctrine, it confirmed the faithful in their adherence to the Church, while by its disciplinary enactments it brought about a genuine reformation of all classes and gave a new infusion of life and zeal all along the line. Its efforts to bring back to the unity of the fold those who had gone out from it were vain; but as Ranke says: "Its result was that Catholicism henceforth confronted the Protestant world in renovated collected vigor." Since the Council of Trent, there has been no extended revolt from the authority of the Church. In fact the unity of the Church has never been so apparent as at this present moment. While in questions that may freely be debated there is honest divergence of opinion, on points that touch upon the deposit of faith as well as upon vital points of policy, the whole Church thinks and acts as one. Nothing could show this more clearly than the recent episode of Modernism and the stand of the French Episcopate in the trying ordeal of the past few years.

#### MODERN EXAMPLES OF POWER.

Modernism, a synthesis of errors, which if allowed to develop, would have sapped belief in many essential doctrines of Christianity, was nipped in the bud so completely that it was dead before the vast majority of believers knew of its existence. The unanimity with which the entire French Church obeyed the marching orders of the Pope to walk out of the churches, monasteries,

seminaries, colleges, convents, schools—all that centuries of labor had accumulated, rather than to compromise on a question of vital principle, illustrates splendidly the spirit of confidence, loyalty and obedience which the entire Catholic world entertains toward him whom it believes to be the Vicar of Christ.

Here is the key to the strength of the Catholic Church. She is strong because she is united; so compacted and knit together that there is no smallest unit but is in complete accord with the whole. And she is united because there is within her that principle of supreme authority in teaching and governing which can weld into indissoluble oneness, men of every class, race, clime and nation. Should not the Church of the one God bear upon her the stamp of such a unity? Here in this great Republic, which moulds into the unity of one citizenship the diverse elements of the globe, the Catholic Church finds herself at home. She is here with all her elements of strength; with her nineteen-centuries of experience; with the same forces that conquered paganism, that civilized the barbarians, that preserved learning, that watched at the birth and nurtured the growth of the modern nations. She is here to stand by the whole truth of Christ, without fear and without compromise.

#### PROOFS OF WONDERFUL VITALITY.

What is she doing here to prove that she has lost none of her vitality, that she is alive to the needs of the age, that she is still a mother to the people? The Catholic Church teaches that faith without good works is dead; that acceptance of the Christian creed is profitless, unless it result in a Christian life. She teaches that there can be no living faith without charity, and charity



is love of God above all things and of one's neighbor for the sake of God. One cannot love God and at the same time be indifferent to one's neighbor, for as St. John says: "He who loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not?" And certainly we do not love our brother unless we are willing to be of practical help to him in his need. "He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?" And our brother is every human being of whatever color, race or creed.

#### CHARITY MUST BE SUPERNATURAL.

This is the simple teaching of the Church, and she drives it home in a hundred different ways. She shows how it is a condition for securing for ourselves grace and mercy; she points out the rewards of charitable practice that will come in this life and in eternity, as well as the terrible judgment awaiting the hard of heart and the unmerciful. She appeals to the motive of our common humanity, but most of all she relies for the effectiveness of her preaching on the doctrine that whatsoever we do to the least of these our brethren, we do it unto Christ. Christ has so identified Himself with suffering humanity, that when we feed the hungry or clothe the naked or visit the sick or care for the orphan or are kind to the unfortunate or stretch the mantle of mercy over the fallen, we do all these things for Christ Himself. It is this supernatural motive which is the perennial spring of charity in the Church. It is this motive of love for Jesus Christ in the person of the poor and the suffering, which supplies with numerous and willing members, the many religious congregations

of men and women, whose object is the practice of charity in a heroic degree.

The charitable work of the Church is organized after the general plan of the Church's structure. The parishes are the units of local charitable work, and the bishop of each diocese is responsible for the larger general needs. The sick, poor, the orphans, the waifs, the neglected children of incompetent or criminally indifferent parents, the aged who have no one to care for them, these and many other classes claim his attention. To conduct the institutions that are necessary for the care of all these dependent classes, he calls in the aid of religious congregations of men and women who have devoted their lives to work of this kind.

These noble souls have given up everything that human nature holds dear, and have severed every tie binding them to the world, that they may more effectively serve Christ in His poor and abandoned children. Who better than the Sister of Charity can care for the motherless child? Who better than she can train and guard the growing girl, or whisper resignation to the incurable sufferer? Who, like the Little Sister of the Poor, knows how to gladden the heart of the aged? And who can reclaim the erring and lift up the fallen, if not the Sister of the Good Shepherd, who has sacrificed all the energies of her own pure life to this redeeming work?

So it is that in the United States, these religious communities are in charge of more than 1300 charitable institutions. Hospitals, orphanages, infant asylums, industrial schools for poor girls, schools for the deaf and dumb and blind, refuges for the unfortunate, asylums for the insane and homes for the aged are under the care of Sisters. Industrial and reformatory schools for

boys are conducted by various congregations of Brothers.

#### RESULTS OF DISCIPLINE.

All these institutions are managed with a skill that is possessed only by trained and disciplined bodies, and with an economy that cannot be equalled. All the religious bind themselves by the vow of poverty as well as by the vows of chastity and obedience. They receive no compensation for their labors except what is necessary to purchase their food and clothing; indeed, money could not pay for what they give; coming from all classes of society, even the highest, their time and their hearts are undivided by the cares and selfish interests of the world; they give themselves unsparingly with the utmost measure of heroic devotion, to the service of God in their brethren; the friendless, the homeless, the destitute and the outcast find in them what they most need, the tenderness and strength of hearts that are at once virginal and motherly.

All these charitable institutions of the Church are supported mostly by the free offerings of the people. In many instances the religious communities themselves, by the wonderful alchemy of prayer and their own sacrifices, secure what funds are needed for the maintenance of their institutions. In this diocese there is for most of the institutions an organized form of support in the way of aid associations, with branches in the various parishes. The generous laity are thus associated with the bodies of religious in prosecuting the works of charity. Besides the institutional work in charge of religious bodies, there are, of course, charitable works conducted on a large scale by the laity—such as the find-

ing of good homes for neglected children, the visitation of the sick poor, the maintenance of day nurseries and kindred works.

Chief among the organized lay charitable agencies is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. This society, inaugurated some seventy-five years ago by the brilliant young professor and litterateur, Frederic Ozaman, has now in the United States more than 450 Conferences with a combined membership of nearly 8,000. It is an organization solely for men, and its purpose, as set forth in its constitution, is the sanctification of its members through works of charity, principally through the visitation of the poor in their homes.

#### SPHERE OF CONFERENCE.

The Conferences naturally find their field in the cities. Each Conference works within parish limits. Its members meet weekly and report upon the wants or progress of the family they have been assigned to visit, and ask for a grant of what they think will be necessary for the family during the coming week. Every family on the relief roll is visited weekly, until such time as it is able to get on without assistance. It is impressed again and again upon the members of the Conferences that their work is not simply that of mechanical relief; that oftentimes it is the heart and soul that are sick and weary more than the body; and that with kindness, prudence and tact they are to seek to win the confidence and friendship of the families they visit, and so be in a position to extend spiritual and moral help, as well as physical assistance. As a matter of fact, these excellent Christian laymen exercise a great influence for good, and the St. Vincent de Paul Conference has come to be a factor of importance in the life of the Church in the United States.

The charitable work of the Church is an essential and important manifestation of her life, but it is by no means her chief service. The greatest source of strength which she brings to this or any country, is the moral and spiritual life which she generates and sustains in the millions of her adherents. And it is moral fibre, spiritual energy, which, after all, must determine more than any other contributing cause, the true greatness and endurance of a nation.

First of all, the Catholic Church, with a most earnest solicitude, watches over the children. She realizes that they are the future. Where the financial condition of the parish warrants it, she establishes the parish school, wherein religion sits as a constant influence in moulding the plastic souls of the little ones. We are convinced that psychologically it is a disastrous blunder to separate the religious force from the daily training of the child. We believe that as character is by far the most important product of education, the training of the will, the moulding of the heart, the grounding of the intellect in clear notions of right and wrong, obligation and duty, should not be left to haphazard or squeezed, as an after thought, into an hour on Sunday. The moral and spiritual growth of the child ought normally to keep pace with his mental growth. And the Church is of the conviction that taking human nature as it is, this result cannot be obtained effectively without including a judicious admixture of religious training with the daily routine of the school.

#### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION A NECESSITY.

The Church is the more convinced of the necessity of this religious training for the children, as she views the

alarming increase of religious indifference which is a marked characteristic of our national life. It is for this reason that Catholics who prize their faith above every earthly possession, are making so many sacrifices to build up a system of religious schools, which besides equipping their children for success in the struggle for the goods of this earth, will ground them so thoroughly in the principles, beliefs and salutary practices of their religion, that they will be proof, so far as human nature can be made proof against the dangers and temptations they will meet in actual life. About 1,000,000 children are now in Catholic schools throughout the United States. We believe that in thus building our religious schools at great cost to ourselves, we are not only taking the best means of safeguarding the faith in our children, but we are at the same time rendering a very great service to the best interests of our country. We are certain that as time goes on, as the dangers to the nation resulting from the growth of the irreligious spirit become more apparent, the wisdom of the Church's cause will be recognized and applauded by our fellow-citizens.

For those children who do not attend parish schools, there are the Sunday schools, and all the children are kept at least in weekly touch with the Church until their entrance into work or into the high schools. From this period, the Church, knowing the increasing dangers in their path, has various religious societies whose main purpose is to keep the growing youth to the faithful practice of religious duty, as well as to give them that larger knowledge of Christian principles, obligations and motives which their expanding intelligence requires. Thus the average Catholic child comes up to the battle of life with a firm grasp of his faith, instructed in his

duties, and with a series of powerful helps to upright living. If he falls in the struggle, surely the Church is not to be held in blame.

What now does the Church do for the moral and spiritual life of her grown children? The parish is the unit of organization, and every well conducted parish of any considerable size has societies that reach out to the several divisions of the congregation. The married women and the young women have each their own sodality, meeting weekly or twice in the month, with all the members, in a body, receiving Holy Communion once a month. These societies of women in the larger city parishes not infrequently number from six to eight hundred active members.

The general society for men is the Holy Name Society, which flourishes all over the country. One of its objects is to promote reverence for the Holy Name of Jesus and to maintain a crusade against profanity. Its members meet monthly and receive Holy Communion four times in the year. An illustration of its strength in this vicinity was given in the remarkable demonstration of last year, when 40,000 men paraded the streets of this city under the banner of the Holy Name of Jesus. And most of them were young men. The special needs of the young men are met in many parishes by associations, which to the usual athletic, social and educational features of young men's clubs, add a religious spirit and observance.

#### ATTENDANCE AT SUNDAY MASS.

It is to be expected that a large proportion of every parish, if not by far the largest, will not be enrolled in

these societies. Upon this great body of worshippers, as upon the members of the societies themselves, the Church brings to bear her three great sources of dynamic power—the Sunday Mass with its accompanying sermon or familiar instruction; the Confessional and the Holy Communion. These are the main batteries of the Church in her warfare against sin. They are the means on which she relies to build up strong spiritual lives in her children.

Every Catholic is obliged, under pain of serious sin, to be present at Mass every Sunday, unless prevented by a good reason. The Church thus safeguards the honor that is due to God through the public worship of His children. So it is that, rain or shine, in heat or in cold, our churches are crowded every Sunday. It is a very indifferent Catholic who will not put himself to great inconvenience rather than absent himself from Mass on the Lord's Day. To Catholics, the Mass, whether celebrated amid all the imposing solemnity of cathedral apurtenances or whether offered in an unadorned chapel of a backwoods village, is the great act of worship. They believe that Christ Himself becomes present on the altar and blesses them and all they hold dear. No man sincerely believing this doctrine and assisting at Mass with proper dispositions, can go back to his home and to the duties of the week without an infusion of comfort, courage and high resolve.

Every Sunday there is at the low Masses, the short, familiar instruction, because time does not permit of anything else, and at the high Masses the set sermon. In large parishes there are from six to eight Masses of a Sunday, so that all the members of families may be accommodated. Many times is the church filled, and



each time is the appointed passage from the Gospel read and expounded and applied to the daily life of the people. Thus throughout the year the Church keeps up her mission of preaching the Gospel, now calmly explaining homely duties, now warning, now encouraging, now reproving, now pleading, now thundering against abuses, now explaining with authority revealed doctrine—always conscious of her responsibility and yearning that Christ may more surely be formed in the hearts of her people.

What a towering and impregnable bulwark the forces of orderly government have in the Catholic pulpit and in Catholic worship. The Catholic pulpit may be said to reach every Sunday, 12,000,000 souls; for while it would be idle to pretend that we have at the Sunday service our full number, yet we may safely say that practically every family, when it has not all or most of its members present, has at least some representative who will hear and bring back to the home circle the Sunday message. And that message will always be one of self-restraint, of respect for the rights of others, of obedience to lawfully constituted authority, of charity and of peace.

What an armory against the growing dangers of anti-Christian socialism, society will find the Catholic Church. From her pulpit men learn their duties as well as their rights. The poor find in her an equality which they can discover nowhere else. They sit in the same pews, kneel at the same altar-railing, kiss the same crucifix with their richer brethren. They know that they are the children of their Father in Heaven as much as the wealthiest and the most distinguished; nay, that they are the favorites, if they but live purely and justly, of Him, Who, while Ruler of the world, deigned to be the Carpenter of Nazareth. With the blessing of the Church, they will strive

by every honest and legitimate means to better their condition; but they will not be misled by the false lights of the theory whose gods are earthly comfort and impossible equality; least of all will they be persuaded to purchase possessions here, at the price of surrendering their allegiance to Him whose life and teaching have forever sanctified labor, and have given to the nobly poor the infallible promise of the kingdom of heaven.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF TWO GREAT SACRAMENTS.

Besides the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and the ministry of preaching, the Church has the powerful aids of Confession and Holy Communion. I shall prescind here altogether from the doctrinal truth of these sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist and present them simply in their psychological aspect. The Church teaches that the sins we commit after Baptism are forgiven through the Sacrament of Penance; and the necessary conditions on the part of the penitent for receiving absolution, are contrition and confession. Now before a man can confess his sins, he must examine his conscience carefully. Daily examination of conscience is earnestly recommended by the Church to all, and good Catholics are accustomed to make such scrutiny every night when saying their night prayers. But in any event, before Confession, rigid examination of one's conscience since the time of one's last confession is absolutely requisite. The soul is forced to look at itself in the mirror of God's law. Its words, conversations, deeds, omissions, and that interior life of thought and will which is hidden from the world but which is so large and vital a part of the soul's history, all must stand the searchlight of

God's commands and prohibitions. This serious and frequent examination of one's life in its every detail and motive quickens the action of conscience and strengthens its voice. The deliberate hauling of one's self before the bar of eternal law, the steady looking at one's faults, failures and transgressions, whether against God, the neighbor or one's own true interests, is the first step in amendment. The old Greek lever of moral power—"Know thyself"—self-knowledge—can be gained in no other way.

The declaration of one's sins to a fellow creature is not agreeable—and it is not intended that it should be; it is a medicine for our pride, and medicine, as a rule, is not particularly palatable. Besides the penitent is protected from too great a strain on his sensitiveness. One may confess in any church, and the gratings of the confessional are so arranged that the confessor sits with averted face, so that the penitent may enter and leave unknown. Every Catholic knows, too, that so absolute and sacred is the secrecy of the confessional, that the confessor would be obliged to lay down his life rather than reveal what is committed to his judgment in that tribunal. And that tribunal is guarded from abuse by the severest penalties the Church can decree.

The confession of the penitent bears the same relation to the treatment of his spiritual ills and needs given by the confessor, that a diagnosis bears to the physician's treatment of disease. Every priest authorized by his bishop to hear confessions has made a long and severe course in ethics and moral theology, and must have passed a satisfactory examination in these subjects before he is ordained. He has made a thorough study not only of the principles underlying human action, but also

of their application to every phase of human life—the relation of the individual to domestic, civil and religious society, contracts, justice and right with their varied ramifications, the relations of employers and employed, the moral obligations of each particular state of life. In a word, he is an expert in the sphere of the moral sciences, and their application to human life. This is one reason why Catholics have such confidence in the confessional. They know that apart from the supernatural character of that tribunal as an instrument for the remission of their sins, the judgment that will be rendered there, on questions they submit, will be no chance solution of individual opinion, but that it will be rendered in accordance with the well defined principles of a science that has enlisted in its study many of the world's greatest intellects.

So the confessional, apart from its sacramental character, is the place of counsel, advice and spiritual direction. People will go there with their difficulties, trials, doubts and woes, who would otherwise carry them in pent-up hearts to premature graves. For the confessional is impersonal, and except to the penitent, it is forever dumb. It was considerations such as these that made a Unitarian preacher—a friend of mine—once exclaim that in repudiating the confessional the Reformers had thrown overboard the greatest agency for good that the world possessed.

#### CONFESSION A CORRECTIVE OF SINS.

Besides confession of sin, every Catholic knows that to obtain forgiveness from God, he must have true sorrow—otherwise his confession were worse than mockery. It were sacrilege. And that sorrow is of no vague, gen-

eral kind, but very definite and practical. It includes not only regret for the past, but resolve for the future. It means the definite and firm resolution to correct the sins that are declared, and furthermore to keep from whatever might prove a proximate occasion of sin. Were the confessional merely a human institution, we can see how much it would yet mean in the preservation of purity and integrity of life, the observance of justice and the discharge of Christian duty.

Confession is for the Catholic the preparation for Holy Communion. Hence his earnestness in striving to make as sincere, humble and contrite confession as possible. For he believes that in Holy Communion, by a miracle of God's love, he comes into blessed contact with the very physical presence of his Saviour. To receive Holy Communion with serious sin in his soul would be, he knows, an unspeakable sacrilege. And although he may have been guilty of many serious sins in the past of which he has repented, he is aware that he cannot now presume to approach the altar-table, unless he has so firmly resolved to keep from evil in the future, that he would rather die than again commit mortal sin. To get the soul up to this pitch of stern resolution, is of itself a great gain, apart from any other consideration. The Church repeatedly urges upon all of her children the frequent reception of these two sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist, because she knows that it means the preservation of innocence, the regaining of purity, the satisfaction of the claims of justice, the toning up and vigor of the whole moral and spiritual life. Let me add that in these two sacraments, Catholics find their greatest comfort and joy.

## CONFESSION NOT EFFECTIVE IN ALL CASES.

It may be asked, if these agencies for good in the Church are so powerful, why do they not produce conditions that are ideal? Why do we see indifferent Catholics, dishonest Catholics, bad Catholics? For many reasons. There are the seductions of the world, the force of bad example, the power of vicious environment, inherited tendencies to evil, and, more than all, there is the freedom of the human will. The Church cannot force goodness upon her members; she can lead them, persuade them, help them—but they must save themselves. If they will not hear her voice or use her helps, she can only wait and pray. Christ would not make Judas honest or honorable, though He was the Lord God. The Apostles could not produce a sinless church.

No: the work of the Church is in a world of sinners, in a world prone to evil. The tares must ever grow with the wheat, until the harvest. The Church faces the situation honestly. Her mission is to save the sinner, as well as to preserve the good. She will have none of Pharisaism. She has no patience with the Donatists' assumption of immaculate virtue and their contention that the Church, in receiving sinners, ceases to be the Church of Christ. She is the Church of Him who was accused of sitting at meat with sinners, Who forgave Magdalen and sought out the lost sheep, and welcomed the prodigal and pardoned the malefactor in his death agony. She teaches that God alone can judge hearts; that propriety is not synonymous with sanctity; that a well-born son of culture or daughter of fashion, who idles life away and squanders in selfish enjoyment resources that might be productive of great good, may be more guilty in God's

sight than the poor laborer who seeks in the saloon a temporary forgetfulness of his ills, though the one may violate no canon of polite society and the other may find himself in the dock of the municipal court. Though adamant to sin, the Church must be a mother to the sinner. Such is the Church and such are her activities.

Need I say to you that this Church, with a mother's heart for every human being, has naught but loving solicitude for the welfare of this great and noble nation with whose future are bound up, in so large a measure, the happiness and progress of the human race? Or that Catholic Americans are none the less loyal and enthusiastic lovers of the republic because of their creed? Rather their Catholic faith consecrates and intensifies their devotion to country.

From the beginning of her history, the Church has enjoined upon all her children obedience and loyalty to the lawfully constituted authority in their respective countries. She teaches that as the Church is God's representative in the supernatural order to lead men to a supernatural end, so the State is God's representative in the natural order to bring men to the end for which society was ordained—the temporal happiness and progress of the race. Disobedience, then, to the State in any matter within the State's competence, is disobedience to God. Obedience to the State is loyalty to God and patriotism is blessed by religion.

#### THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Here in America the Church is in the environment most suitable to her. For while monarchial in form, she is absolutely democratic in spirit. In her, fitness determines honors. The poorest boy may rise to the highest

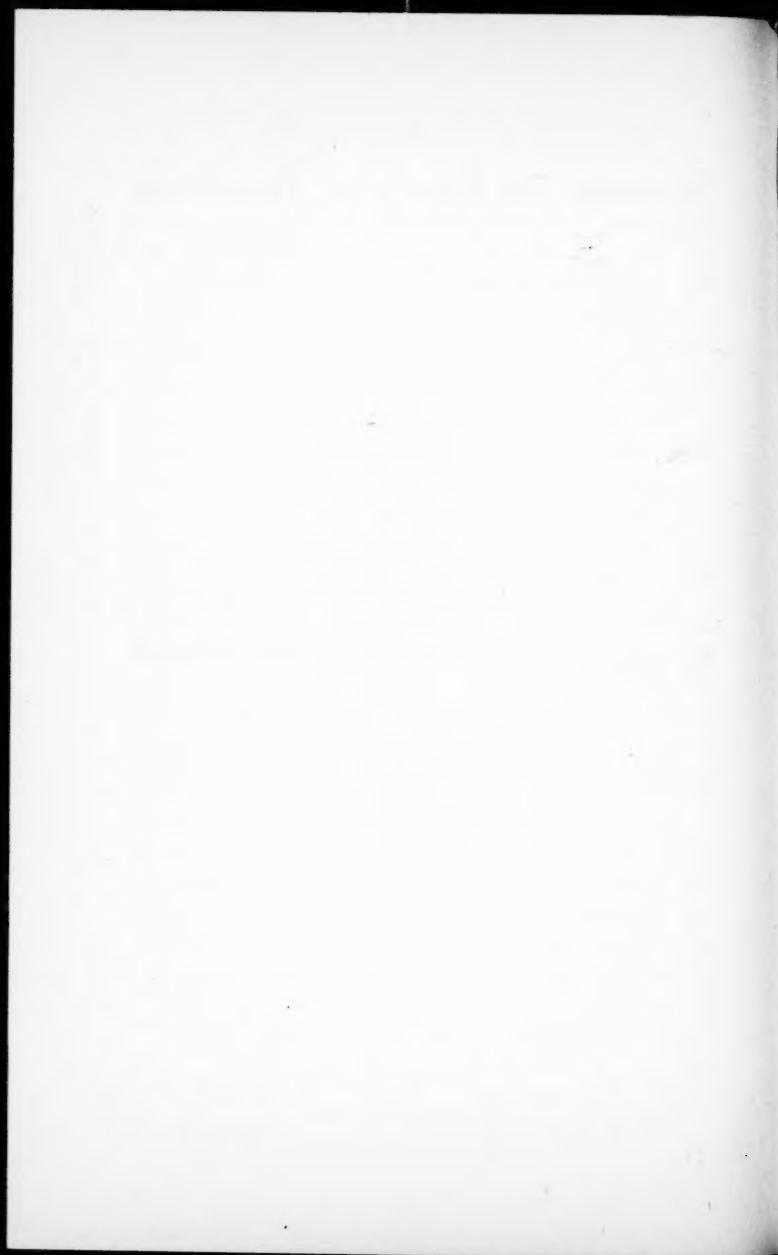
office, and what is not always true of democracies, the richest are not excluded, if they prove themselves the most competent.

The Church recognizes and takes occasion to hold up for the imitation of other peoples, the noble spirit of the United States. She finds here that rarest of combinations—liberty without license and authority without despotism. She finds here, with many dangers, great natural virtues—a conspicuous love of justice and fairness, a sympathy quick to be touched by suffering anywhere, and a generosity in the relief of distress unequalled by any other people in the world. She finds a people of wonderful ingenuity, versatility and practical sense, with marvelous and daring schemes of material conquest and a spirit equal to their accomplishment. But more than that, she finds a people who, despite their growing indifference to organized forms of worship, are still in heart religious, and honestly devoted to the betterment of mankind. And the Church of the Ages blesses this young, mighty, generous, lovable nation, and bids her children to work with loyalty and energy, to realize this nation's ideals.

Here surely is a platform on which we all can stand—our common Americanism. Though in creed we differ, yet we all may work in harmony for the true interests of our country—the reign of civic purity, of effective administration, of equal opportunity to all, of justice to every class. And shoulder to shoulder let us work unceasingly for the preservation of those deeper sources of national greatness—the rectitude of individual life, the sacredness of the family, the spread of education and the triumph of religion.



## **Sermon on Cardinal Newman**



# Sermon on Cardinal Newman

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BY THE REV. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J., AT THE OPENING  
OF THE NEWMAN MEMORIAL CHURCH AT  
EDGBASTON.

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Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me, until I tell the might of thine arm to all the generation that is for to come (Psalm lxx.).

Rather more than nineteen years ago you carried out from hence to their resting place the mortal remains of John Henry Cardinal Newman. When a man is just dead, and his soul has but recently passed into the presence of the Judge, his praises, as they rise to our lips, are checked by the thought that his sentence is fresh recorded in heaven, and his soul may haply be lying in a condition which calls for our prayers and intercessions rather than for our eulogiums. But purgatory is unlike hell in this, that every day in purgatory brings increase of hope. Many days have gone by since August 11, 1890; and the sum of those days mounting up engenders in our hearts a firm confidence that by this time the soul of John Henry Newman has ascended to his place among the Doctors and Princes of the Church Triumphant. Thence as he looks down, may it be an access to his joy to behold this day's celebration and this splendid basilica, or, as I may call it, his new Cardinal's titular church, built for him here where he lived and died, to enshrine his memory and—may we hope?—his mortal remains for all time.

How come I to have the confidence, the audacity, to

address you on this occasion? I answer, love makes bold. Because I do love John Henry Newman, am enthusiastic on his behalf and jealous of his honor—because for years I have made him one of my private patrons with God, and have daily invoked his intercession—because to me he is as a Father and Doctor of the Church, raised up by God to perpetuate the line of Fathers and Doctors in these latter times, therefore have I made bold to set aside all considerations of capacity or incapacity, and to speak his praises with the confidence of love. It is much to be in sympathy with your subject, and, thank God, that merit at least I can claim. But love should be borne out by knowledge. My personal knowledge of the Cardinal was limited to an audience of ten minutes, during which he struck me as singularly child-like, warm-hearted, simple, and truthful. But I have read his writings nearly all through. I have copied him out and written about him: I have meditated on him and endeavored to imbibe his spirit; and I have been told by those who long enjoyed his familiarity that I have not altogether misunderstood him. Again, one might be glad to see here represented what the author of the "Apologia" fondly calls "my own University," or at least the hundred Catholics in residence there where he made such efforts in his later years to raise the standard of Catholic academical education, so happily set up since his death. I see Oxford graduates present, notably one, once a boy at the Oratory School, now fellow of his college. There remains further a certain propriety in the University of Oxford furnishing someone, even the least and most insignificant, of her alumni, to testify Alma Mater's abiding interest in her great and glorious son.

NEWMAN'S SENSE OF UNSEEN POWERS.

1. I proceed to indicate what, on careful study, strike me as salient points in John Henry Newman's character. And first I would name his sense of Unseen Powers. As you are aware, in the earliest Hebrew Scriptures, the name of God is usually a plural name, Elohim. Taking Elohim to mean divine agencies working on earth, Newman, I say, was peculiarly sensitive to the presence of Elohim. He could not tolerate that too exclusive devotion to physical science which, carrying physics into theology, sees nothing in the Creator more than a Power apt to put in execution the laws of nature; a Being, as he says, "who is more certain not to act at all than to act independently of those laws"; a Being whose sovereignty is "a sort of constitutional monarchy, in which the Throne has honour and ceremonial enough, but cannot issue the most ordinary command except with the counter-signature of a minister"; a God "powerful or skilful so far as the telescope shows power or the microscope shows skill." ("Idea of a University," pp. 37-8 ed. 1895). In protest against this misconstruction of the lessons of nature, Newman was all his life a great stickler for miracles, not certainly for every alleged miracle, but for the possibility of miracles, their greater or less frequency in the post-Apostolic Church, and their doctrinal value. All his life, too, he had a great belief in angelic ministrations, as his Sermon shows on the Office of Angels in Nature, preached at Oxford on St. Michael's Day.

But it is in the supernatural order that divine agencies are most gloriously operative, and in that order Newman was most forward to discern them. By the "super-

natural" I mean the order of the Incarnation, that grand descent of God upon nature; I mean the order of Redemption, and forgiveness of sin, and admission into heaven. And here I would note in passing how far at the outset of his career and by the fundamental cast of his thought, John Henry Newman stood in diametrical opposition to that modern heresy which has so impudently claimed him for its prophet. Never was Modernist sound on the doctrine of grace: no mind that has a right idea of the supernatural can incline to Modernism. For the supernatural is not the natural sublimated: it is not the highest power of the natural; it is not humanity raising itself to heaven; it is God descending upon earth, and thereby making men as gods. Supernatural Powers are not Nature Powers.. Newman was as little of a Modernist as he was of an Erastian; he had no more idea of including Grace within Nature than he had of subjecting the Church to the State.. From Whately, he tells us, he got his first idea of the Church, as a society complete in itself, and, if complete in itself, then not a Department of the State. But the disciple soon outran the master. The Oxford Movement set in, with Newman in the front of it. The great abuse which that Movement endeavored to eliminate from the Church of England was its subservience to the State, its Erastianism. Of course, the endeavor failed, for is not the Church of England historically by law established, and traditionally by law controlled, by the law of Crown and Parliament, symbolised in the Lion and Unicorn? There was nothing left for the anti-Erastian leader but to come out of her, and come out of her he did, in the midst of his years, exactly the central year of his long life, in the fullness of his powers, and (as then seemed) in the height of

his reputation, preferring abjection in the house of God. Little did he foresee that, as an exotic transplanted back to its natural soil and congenial climate, his development was to be carried to its fullness by that renunciation, and that one day he was to be greater in Birmingham than ever he had been in Oxford.

Newman thirsted after the supernatural, and longed to find it everywhere. The world to him was "a barren promontory" without it. He suspected every human institution, he deprecated every scheme for the improvement of mankind, from which the supernatural was excluded. I may refer to his papers on the Tamworth Reading-room, also to his strenuous opposition to the then nascent University of London, on the ground that that University expressly discarded theology,—a gap in its curriculum which in our days has been filled in; and on this ground he was at one with his great adversary, Dr. Arnold, who resigned his fellowship in that same University because it taught no religion. I think there is something felicitous, after all, in the vexatious delays which have thrown back the opening of this church. We are opening on a Feast which commemorates the triumph of the supernatural, the entrance into existence of Blessed Mary, full of grace.

#### HIS UNWORLDLINESS.

2. The mass of mankind living in ignorance, or, still worse, in conscious rejection of the supernatural, is in the language of Holy Scripture termed "the world." I know no so well marked feature in John Henry Newman's character as this, that he was a man who from first to last set his face steadily against the world. As

an Anglican, he might be compared with Bunyan; his Oxford sermons are as redolent of unworldliness as "Pilgrim's Progress." Till I began to read him closely and copiously, writing out passages that struck me, I had no idea of what I may call his terrible unworldliness. He was a John Baptist or Jeremiah; to read him was as wrestling with the Archangel of the Apocalypse who foretells the doom of this world (Apoc. x). Preparing to speak of him to a Catholic audience of young men, I felt as though there were utterances of his that I must keep back; I had a fear that my youthful hearers, smitten as youth ever must be by the fascination of life, would not accept them, would take them for exaggerations. I am happy to say I found my fears groundless; the voice that had caught the ear and riveted the attention of the grandsire had not lost its power over the children. Was it not after all the echo of the voice of the Lord? What stronger denunciation of the world can you have than this: "Woe to you rich, woe to you because ye have your consolation here; woe to you that are filled full, woe to you when all men speak well of you" (Luke vi, 24-26). "Let us be quite sure," cried Newman, in the pulpit of St. Mary the Virgin in the year 1838, "let us be quite sure that that confederacy of evil which the Scripture calls the world, that conspiracy against Almighty God of which Satan is the secret instigator, is something wider and more subtle and more ordinary than mere cruelty, or craft, or profligacy; it is that very world in which we are; it is not a certain body or party of men, but it is human society itself" ("Sermons on Subjects of the Day," Faith and Experience). Was this sentiment crude and immature? Forty years later, a white-headed Catholic priest, he repeated it against Dr. Fair-



bairn: "As I believe, the world is identical with human society now." Does not St. John say with equal comprehensiveness, "the whole world is seated in wickedness," or "lieth in the power of the Evil One" (1 John v, 19). Human society indeed, as such, is God's institution, and every man in it is God's creature; yet—who can doubt it?—the general trend of human thought is hostile to the supernatural, hostile to the teaching of Jesus Christ, hostile to the Catholic Church. If you look for illustrations, take a file of the representative newspaper of this country.

#### THE FEWNESS OF THE SUPERNATURALLY GOOD.

3. From this view of the world it follows that good Christians are few, comparatively few, I mean, though otherwise, I trust that many good Christians are worshippers in this church. This fewness of the supernaturally good is enforced by Newman in one of his most striking sermons. "The Visible Church for the Sake of the Elect" ("Parochial and Plain Sermons," Vol. IV). He meets that commonest of objections, that Christianity has failed, whereas the work of a Man-God should not fail, by observing that, before we pronounce upon the failure of a movement, we should first ascertain the design of the prime mover; that while Christ died for all, He from the first announced that the majority of mankind would not receive His salvation, that "narrow is the gate and straight the way that leadeth to life, and few there are that find it" (Matt. vii, 14). "Though we labored ever so much," continues the preacher, "we could never reverse our Saviour's witness, or make the many religious or the bad few." It is a delusion to suppose that

time ever was in the Church, or ever shall be, when nothing remains to do but to fling yourself into the swim of life and follow the society about you, going after Christ. Why, the thing is scarcely possible in a religious community; it is much if it be possible there. As well expect the natural trend of your passions to lead you to Christ. The world is simply the flesh in the plural number. A good Christian, then, must make up his mind to live in a minority and, as we were told not long ago, "minorities must suffer"! He would cease to be a good Christian, were he to throw in his lot with the dominant multitude. He may, nay commonly he should, move about in society, and exchange courtesies and friendly offices with many men. But on all the deeper issues of human aspiration and human conduct, "his life is not as the lives of other men, and his ways are very different." Men will say to him, as they come to find him out and know him better, "he is not to our turn" (Wisdom ii, 12-15), except, I must add, when a stroke of real good work is to be done, and then he comes forward while the frivolous shrink and fail. What else does the Scripture mean by speaking of us so often as "strangers and pilgrims" (*e. g.*, 1 Pet. ii, 11)? Strangers and pilgrims are the few, wandering in a land that does not belong to them, where the mass of the population is alien from them. "I own," said Newman, "I am suspicious of any religion that is a people's religion, or an age's religion" ("Parochial and Plain Sermons," Vol. I, Self-Denial the Test of Religious Earnestness). At the same time it is the function of the few to act, as our Lord says, as a leaven upon the many, ever to labor at attracting individuals to come out from among the many and join them, in the confidence that, though they cannot

save all, they shall be profitably exercised every day in saving some (1 Cor. ix, 22, R. V.). And so John Henry Newman was profitably exercised every day for a long sixty years, oh, with what diligence! amidst how many failures, misunderstandings and contradictions! oh, with what constancy, and under God, with what far-reaching success!

#### HORROR OF INTELLECTUAL PRIDE.

4. The world that Newman opposed is backed by three doughty champions, Money-making, Enjoyment, Intellectualism. Of these the two former are the more prominent, and their action is manifest everywhere. I mean that, go where you will, you will find men busy in making money and in spending it upon their pleasure, with small regard for the Gospel, and also with little heed for philosophy, not caring to invoke from the regions of the Unseen any justification of their conduct and aims of life. Seen and sensible goods being the objects of their pursuit, they take it for justification enough that the goodness of these things is a felt goodness and gratifies sense. Such a position is intellectually weak, and the world at times is fain to confess that it is condemned by philosophy, yea, and by riper experience of life.. After all said and done, "man liveth not by bread alone" (Matth. iv, 4), nor by Manchester goods. Then intellectualism rushes in to the world's rescue, and contends that, however the philosophy of life may stand, certainly this Christianity, which demands so many painful sacrifices of human nature, has no foundation in fact and reality. Its warnings may safely be disregarded, and the world go on living for itself, not for God, fearless of

God's judgments, and without solicitude for the hereafter. Newman was too intellectual himself not to have his eye upon intellectualism. Well he knew that, though sense may corrupt, and the splendid imposture of wealth may delude, yet ultimately the fiercest and most inveterate enemy of the Cross of Christ, in man as in angel, is to be found in man's highest and most god-like faculty, even intellect itself. Hence his horror of intellectual pride, above all other sins, a horror embodied in that famous sentence of the "Apologia" (ch. vii), "smiting hard and throwing back the immense energy of the aggressive, capricious, and untrustworthy intellect." In several passages of his Anglican sermons he declares intellect, in its application to criticism and philosophy, to have been unknown in Paradise, where man was happier without it, and to have been purchased by the disobedience of the Fall. However that may be, certain it is that to the Christian the duty of restraining intellect within the obedience of faith is quite as imperative as the duty of restraining the sensual appetite within the obedience of Reason: you can no more be permitted free thought upon matters religious than you can be permitted free love and unrestrained passion in matters of daily conduct. Newman united a keen exercise of intellect with a distrust of the very faculty he was employing—or rather, I should say, a lively sense of its limitations.

#### NO SCEPTIC.

For there is nothing of the sceptic about Newman, nothing of the subjective idealist; he stands clear of the Kantist philosophy and all its progeny; he manifests a robust confidence in the certainties of everyday life, and,

needless to say a faith in divine revelation worthy of a Prince of the Church. It is of the argumentations of the learned that he is distrustful, when they are drawn out with a parade of formal logic and scientific acumen. And the motive of his distrust is briefly this, that in reasoning from verbal premises one is apt to proceed upon an inadequate view of the facts of the case; the facts are too multitudinous all to be packed within the premises; whence one of two results ensues, either that the conclusion is larger than the premises, as taking cognisance of facts or opinions not therein contained, or, being true to the premises, the conclusion falls short of the facts, and is true only hypothetically, speculatively, and in the abstract. Upon this point, Newman has been and is still misrepresented by men who, falling into the very error that he deprecates, will argue from certain passages in his writings, unchecked by what he has written elsewhere. Vigorous and original thinker as he was, Newman will startle you at times. When you are startled, read on, and you will find explanation. The practice of pushing isolated utterances of his to conclusions inconsistent with the general tenour of his speech was a practice that he keenly resented in life; and, had he lived and wielded his pen these last twenty years, I fear he would have made an example of some of his commentators. "Il faut dépasser Newman," a French writer has said, "we must go beyond Newman." Go beyond him by all means, his books are not written to imprison you; but, ere you pronounce upon him, do read him all through. But enough of this.

I have permission to read a letter, one of the last he wrote, which brings out the Cardinal's strong attachment to Holy Church, as also a fact in his life on which

he himself was fond of dwelling, namely, that religion in him grew as the morning twilight grows into noonday by continued increase of light—by addition, not by disavowal. Therefore, it has been well said, you have the whole of Newman—in promise and potency—in his Parochial and plain Sermons preached at Oxford when he was Vicar of St. Mary's. This is the letter:

24th Feb., 1887.

"I will not close our correspondence without testifying my simple love and adhesion to the Catholic Roman Church, not that I think you doubt this: and did I wish to give a reason for this full and absolute devotion, what can I say, but that those great and burning truths which I learned when a boy from Evangelical Teaching I have found impressed upon my heart with fresh and ever-increasing force by the Holy Roman Church. That Church has added to the simple Evangelicalism of my first teachers, but it has obscured, diluted, enfeebled nothing of it, on the contrary, I have found a power, a resource a comfort, a consolation in Our Lord's Divinity and atonement, in His real presence in Communion, in His Divine and Human power, which all good Catholics indeed have, but which Evangelical Christians have but faintly. But I have not strength to say more."

#### THE TRIAL OF DISTRUST.

5. One who had set his face so resolutely against the world that he might have said with St. Paul, "The world is crucified to me, and I to the world" (Gal. vi, 14), could not "wonder if the world hated him" (1 John iii, 13). What may have surprised him at times, what was in itself far harder to bear than the world's

hatred, was the contradiction and distrust he encountered from fellow-Catholics. The Hebrew Psalmist of old, placed in a similar situation, can find no words to declare his grief, and so breaks off his utterance unfinished. "If mine enemy had cursed me, surely I would have borne it, and if he that hated me had spoken great things over me, perchance I would have hidden myself away from him; but thou, man of one mind with me, my guide and mine associate, who didst take sweetmeats with me, in the house of God we walked in concord. . . . (Ps. liv.). History, Holy Scripture, and our own personal experience, tell us of the quarrels of holy men, of Paul and Barnabas, of Chrysostom and Epiphanius, of Cyril and Theodoret, of Bossuet and Fénelon, of Milner and Poynter! But it would be ungenerous to rake up memories of what the Cardinal has long ago condoned, of what is now matter of his reward, nay, probably of the reward also of his opponents, united with him in the fraternity of heavenly bliss. No man learnt this lesson better than John Henry Newman, that what is said of the course of true love holds of every enterprise that makes for the glory of God: the course of such an enterprise never runs smooth, it is opposed by the evil-minded, it is suspected, retarded, thwarted, sometimes for the nonce overthrown, by those who love God and have His glory at heart. The trial of an ardent, zealous soul is the apathy of good men, the recurrent experience that when one thinks to discern something well worth doing and feasible enough, authority blocks the way, enforcing an attitude of inaction. What is there left for a loyal heart under such discouragement but to wait, to submit—nay, to refuse to be discouraged, to elicit an immense act of confidence in the Church and in the Providence of

the Holy Ghost over the Church, "doing all things good in their own time" (Eccles. iii, 11). Newman was fond of laying it down that the characteristic of the heresiarch is not so much pride as impatience. The man cannot wait for posthumous results: he must needs bask in the admiring gaze of his contemporaries, and be a living lion in his own generation. "*Nec nihil sunt nec omnia quae iste dicit*" may be said of many an innovator. There is something in what he says, but it is not the whole truth, not the healthy utterance of wisdom: his wisdom, such as it is, is stifled and overlaid with pride and passion, with exaggeration and falsehood. If the man had been a patient man, if he had confidence in Mother Church, the Spouse of Christ, he might have beheld from a better world the Church adopting whatever was wise in his proposals, while purifying them from their large admixture of human folly. Newman was a patient man, and he has his reward.

It was a tenet with him that the best success is posthumous success, that the fruit of the laborer's toil should then appear when the evening has come for him, and he has left the vineyard and gone home. Did not our Master's own labor culminate in the Crucifixion and then show fruit in the Resurrection? "Look through the Bible," says the preacher at St. Mary the Virgin's, "and you will find that God's servants, even though they begin with success, end with disappointment, not that God's purpose or instruments fail, but that the time for reaping what we have sown is hereafter, not here; that here there is no great visible fruit in any one man's lifetime" ("Parochial and Plain Sermons," Jeremiah a lesson for the Disappointed). And in the meditations of the aged Cardinal we read: "I know that it is true, and



will be true to the end of the world, that nothing great is done without suffering, without humiliation. I will never have faith in riches, rank, power, or reputation. I will never set my heart on worldly success or worldly advantages. I will never wish for what men call the prizes of life" ("Meditations and Devotions," pp. 474-5).

#### THE CROWN OF A LIFE'S WORK.

It was God's will that the prizes of life should ultimately fall to John Henry Newman. After a stormy mid-day, his sun went down in the crimson splendor of the Roman Cardinalate, in the full radiance of Papal favor, with the gaze of admiring England fixed upon him, recognized and restored in regions whence he had been cast out. Was he then an exception to his own rule, that "the time for reaping what we have sown is hereafter, not here; that here there is no great visible fruit in any one man's lifetime"? I might reply that these prizes of life were not the fruit that Newman looked for to crown his labors. But I have another reply, and it is furnished by this Memorial Church in which we are assembled. What shall be the success of this church? I augur that, "spiritually examined," as St. Paul says (I Cor. ii, 14), it shall be a great success.. I augur that from this, Cardinal Newman's Memorial Church, from this his Oratory of St. Philip, from this his Oratory School, and from these the many volumes of his writings, from these four sources as from four rivers of Paradise, good shall flow, greater than the good that he was able to accomplish in his mortal life. I augur that in and about this church, in this city and diocese of Birming-

ham, at Oscott, and even in far-off Oxford, there shall grow up and be perpetuated a school of Newman's thought, so far as that thought is the thought of the Catholic Church and the mind of Christ, for not otherwise would he ever have wished it to go forth. I augur that from this spot, the central city of our isle, shall be wrought out, not perhaps the conversion of England, but what the Cardinal, with his distrust of a popular religion, loved rather to contemplate, the conversion of Englishmen. I augur that Catholics, sore tempted in faith, shall here be strengthened in the same, first by prayer and Mass and Sacraments, then by what I have long considered the best philosophy for an English Catholic layman, the teaching of John Henry Newman, taken as a whole; I say, "taken as a whole," the whole gist and spirit and mind of the man.

And thus shall be accomplished the words of my text; I quote them this time as you may read them on the monument in the north wall of Littlemore Church; he chose them for the epitaph of his mother; the prayer which, put by him in the mouth of his dead mother, was eminently for himself: "Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me, until I have shown Thy strength to this generation, and Thy power to all them that are yet for to come." Such the prayer put up in 1836. For nine years John Henry Newman went on showing the Strength of God to the generation that then was at Oxford, first by word in St. Mary's Church then by example in retirement at Littlemore. Then came the change, and "he was found no more" at Littlemore nor at Oxford, "because God translated him" (Gen. v, 24; Heb. xi, 5). So it came about that in ways unforeseen, elsewhere, he still went on showing

God's power to other men and to others that were yet for to come, "even to old age and eld" (Psalm, lxx, 18). You, my Fathers of the Oratory are witnesses—and more than witnesses, your affectionate care secured it, that the venerable Cardinal was not cast off in the time of age, nor forsaken when his strength failed him. You bore him up, and a generation of boys grew around the old man, looked into his face, and loved him. And further, and further still, in this Church and Oratory, to every generation that is for to come shall be told the might of God's arm revealed in John Henry Newman, his wonderful conversion, the power of his preaching and writings, the example of his long, laborious and holy life. And not in vain shall it be told, but as Samson's dying feat was to the destruction of the Philistines, so shall the memory and the word of Newman be to the conversion of Englishmen; dead, he shall bring more souls to the faith than he converted in the days when he wrought the deeds of a strong man in Israel. Amen.